





PARIS IN 1789-94

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P A R I S

IN

1789-94

FAREWELL LETTERS OF VICTIMS
OF THE GUILLOTINE

BY

13943
JOHN GOLDWORTH ALGER

AUTHOR OF "THE NEW PARIS SKETCH BOOK," "ENGLISHMEN IN
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION," AND "GLIMPSES OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION"

WITH PLAN

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JOHN GOLDWORTH ALDER

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P R E F A C E

THIS is not a History of the French Revolution, for there are Histories enough and to spare, and no educated man lacks acquaintance with its leading events. It is a contribution to the psychology of those events or views them from new standpoints. For it is not sufficient to know that they happened; we should seek to know *why* they happened. It is consequently necessary to probe the frame of mind of the actors and sufferers, and I have endeavoured, whenever possible, to let them tell their own story and describe their own emotions.¹ In the case of documents not intended for publication we penetrate behind the scenes, and are almost in the position of questioning the eye-witnesses. The volume takes no notice of the Parliamentary Assemblies, except their reception of picturesque or grotesque deputations, but it describes the local government of Paris, bodies which on some critical occasions coerced those Assemblies. It also shows what was the ordinary life of Parisians during that tragical period. I have utilised some of the masses of uncalendared manuscripts in the National Archives at Paris, and all references not otherwise indicated relate thereto.

I venture to hope that with this fresh standpoint and this collection of new materials the book will be a not unacceptable addition to the numerous works already devoted to a phenomenon of exceptional, indeed almost

¹ See especially the reports of observers, Chapter V.; the love letters, Chapter VII.; the farewell letters of the guillotined, Chapter X.; and Robespierre's notes, Chapter XI.

unique, interest. For as a general rule not only is French the language known to any man acquainted with any foreign tongue, but the French Revolution, next to the revolutions which have occurred in his own country, most attracts his admiration or abhorrence. The history of that Revolution, too, is interesting not only in itself, but on account of the light which it is constantly throwing on contemporary events in France. French thinkers, from Tocqueville to Taine, are clearly justified, indeed, in regarding the Revolution as unfinished, for not merely is the problem of a durable form of government still unsolved, but we are ever and anon reminded of episodes and manifestations of the temper of a century ago. Sometimes it is a desire for a military dictatorship, sometimes suspicions of domestic treachery or foreign intrigue. Now a Boulanger aims at aping Bonaparte, and now the notion of a cosmopolitan syndicate takes the place occupied in French minds in 1794 by Pitt and Coburg. And we have had revelations of judicial or military duplicity and unscrupulousness which revive the recollection of Fouquier-Tinville and his Revolutionary Tribunal.

Some of these scenes held our grandfathers in such breathless suspense that even a yeoman in a Norfolk village,¹ 300 miles from Paris, who had never travelled beyond London, consulted the stars to ascertain whether or not Robespierre would overturn the Convention.

My object has been not to point a moral, although history is bound to furnish lessons to contemporaries, but to give a picture of the time, with its lights and shadows, its enthusiasms and its horrors. Fortunately it is easy for a foreigner to be impartial, perhaps easier for an Englishman than for any other foreigner, for his country was never invaded in the wars which arose out of the Revolution, a memory which may warp the view of the Continental European, nor can he have leanings towards the old monarchy which its assistance in the War of Independence may inspire in an American. For a

¹ My maternal grandfather.

Frenchman impartiality may be declared impossible. His politics are governed by his opinion of the Revolution, and *vice versâ*. Not only all subsequent but all previous French history is judged by him by the Revolution. Add to this a natural pity or admiration for ancestors who acted or suffered in that troubled time, and it is easy to understand that French historians are royalists or republicans, Girondins or Jacobins, Robespierrists or Dantonists. They cannot get the proper perspective, and they argue rather than dissect. For the foreigner, on the other hand, the Revolution should be a psychological problem, to be as dispassionately studied as the Roman Empire or the Norman Conquest. The essential thing is to understand the standpoint and sentiments of the actors. The personal equation of course necessarily affects all histories, but it is for the reader to judge how far I have succeeded in preserving the judicial or scientific temper.

I have been kindly allowed to incorporate articles in Chapters VII. and XI. from the *Scottish Review*, in Chapter VIII. from the *English Historical Review*, in Chapter X. from the *Atlantic Monthly*, and in Appendix D from the *Westminster Review*. These portions of the work have been more or less enlarged by later researches.

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PARIS IN 1789-94

CHAPTER I

THE PARIS OF THE REVOLUTION, AND WHAT REMAINS OF IT

Walls—Gardens—Convents—Colleges—Churches—Palaces—Slums—
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Remains—Guillotine Sites—Conciergerie—Condorcet—Street re-
naming and re-numbering—Houses with celebrated occupants—
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THE Paris of 1789 was very unlike the Paris of the present day. Its 600,000 inhabitants¹—nearly the same population as that of imperial Rome—were quartered more densely than nowadays in the central portion, and very sparsely in the outlying ones. They were shut in by the walls which, not quite completed, had been erected by the revenue farmers in order to repress smuggling. Till then every street or road leading into the country had a hoarding or palisading, with an opening to admit one vehicle at a time, and a sentry-box for the collector. The walls, 17 feet in height, were the suggestion of the celebrated Lavoisier, while the ornamental barriers or collectors' offices were the idea of Calonne.² These were ninety-six in number, and six of them still exist. One is at the northern entrance of Parc Monceau—a double ditch in lieu of a wall ran alongside the park—and is now the keeper's lodge; two others are in the boulevard Raspail, two more in the place du Trône, and the sixth in the faubourg St. Martin.

¹ The census of 1801, the first really accurate one, gave 597,000 inhabitants, but at the beginning of the Revolution there were probably 600,000.

² Mollien, *Mémoires*.

Outside the walls was a road with two lines of trees, and by that road Louis XVI. returned from Varennes, to avoid passing through the city, while inside there was a similar avenue in some portions of the circle. Certain religious communities, which had enjoyed exemption from *octroi* duties, and some of which had abused the privilege by selling commodities not required for their own consumption, had received compensation for the abolition of the privilege. This increased rigour in collecting the indirect taxes rendered the revenue farmers so unpopular as to contribute in 1794 to their execution in a batch, Lavoisier among them. Yet there were still attempts at evasion. Mercier speaks of a publican smuggling wine into his cellars by a tube 200 feet long passing under the wall. He was fined 6000 francs, and this penalty was placarded over Paris, but excited sympathy rather than reprobation. In 1790, moreover, another publican in the faubourg St. Denis was detected in getting wine into his back-garden through the adjoining Clos St. Lazare. In January 1791 there was a scuffle between smugglers and the military. Taxable articles were sometimes flung over the wall, and there were legends of underground passages through which even cattle could pass. In May 1791, indeed, the *octroi* was abolished, the Assembly ordering the suspension of the work on the uncompleted portion of the walls and the sale of the materials; but fiscal necessities in 1798 led to the revival of the impost, and when Paris was threatened with famine the walls served to prevent provisions from being sent out to the equally straitened suburbs. In January 1794 a woman was detected in slipping five loaves outwards through a breach in the walls. These contraband acts were possible, because between the old boulevards, marking the site of the walls demolished by Louis XIV., and the revenue farmers' wall, now the line of outer boulevards, were large tracts of fields and gardens.¹ Even up to 1859, when that wall was

¹ Beyond the wall a contemporary writer speaks of "a charming variety of vine-clad hills, fields, woods, and lawns."

removed, there was a belt of vacant ground, often a kind of No Man's land, for though the Parisians had been gradually filling up the space between the wall and the fortifications of 1840 there had been no inducement, but the reverse, to erect houses just within the *octroi*. For an opposite reason the space immediately beyond the barriers was studded with houses, half-a-million of untaxed people inhabiting the space between the barriers and the fortifications. In 1789 the houses were tolerably continuous, indeed, for a certain range beyond the boulevards, and a few transverse streets had been opened in the faubourgs, but buildings then became straggling, with large spaces of ground at the back. The retired grocer with whom Thomas Paine lodged in 1793 in the faubourg St. Denis had, for instance, more than an acre of land, well stocked with fruit trees, and the premises resembled, as indeed they must originally have been, an old farmhouse. Valant, an ex-priest, who in 1798 opened a boarding-school in the same premises, announced as an inducement to parents that every boy had a plot of garden. Napoleon and his fellow students at Brienne had also had their separate gardens, which was easily arranged in a country town, but was of course less common inside Paris. The Grange Batelière, though only just beyond the boulevard, was still a farmhouse. In the faubourg du Temple and the faubourg St. Antoine there were scarcely any houses, and the nurserymen in the latter quarter, on the 6th July 1792, presented the Assembly with a pyramid of roses, while the southwest of the Champs Élysées was still real country. Even on the inner side of the boulevards, moreover, there were mansions provided not only with gardens but with ditches, and on the 15th November 1790 a crowd assembled to fill up the ditches of M. de Montmorency, which were considered both an obstruction and an encroachment. Beaumarchais had one of the most spacious private gardens in Paris, one side of it looking on the Bastille, the demolition of which improved the view.

There were, too, about 140 monastic establishments,¹ none probably without a garden, and many possessing spacious grounds. These establishments studded the south side of the Seine, but even on the north they occupied a considerable area. The Jacobins, in the rue St. Honoré, whose chapel was to become the Jacobin club, had a large back-garden. The Conceptionists and the Capucins almost joined them, but the latter had a century before lost the greater part of their grounds, to make way for the place des Conquêtes, now the place Vendôme. Their building, however, remained till 1805. The gardens of both these communities extended to the boulevard. Across the street were the Assumptionists, whose chapel still exists, the convent, till its demolition in 1899, being the laboratory of the Ministry of Finance. The Feuillants were close by, at the back of the Manège or riding-school, where the Assembly met in October 1789 on quitting Versailles, taking possession of the monastery to serve as its committee rooms. A little to the north-east were the nuns of St. Thomas, on whose site the Bourse now stands. Adjoining, to the south of them, were the Augustinians or Petits Pères. Of their monastery and spacious grounds, through which the rue de la Banque was made in 1846, the church alone remains, re-named Notre Dame des Victoires in 1836 because the priest, Dufriche des Genettes, believed himself to have received during mass an injunction from the Virgin that it should be dedicated to her. But Louis XIII. had originally given it that name, in celebration of victories over the Huguenots. At a short distance were the Oratorians, in whose chapel Talleyrand and Gobel consecrated the first two constitutional bishops. Since 1811 it has been a Protestant church. The Assumptionists, Capucins, and Feuillants all bordered on the Tuileries gardens, or on the Manège.

The Bénédictins, or Blancs-Manteaux, were farther east ;

¹ There are now about 50. Verniquet's plan of Paris of 1791 gives 68 monasteries and 73 convents, but several of these were prisons or hospitals. On the other hand, several of the 29 hospitals were virtually convents.

their church remains, but their monastery has been annexed to the Mont de Piété. Close by, in the place Royale (now place des Vosges), were the Minimes, whose 17,000 books formed one of the finest libraries in Paris; their monastery is now a barrack. The Célestins had recently been evacuated and was about to be utilised as a blind asylum; their chapel contained the tomb of Anne of Burgundy, wife of the Regent Duke of Bedford. A barrack now covers the site, but her statue, placed on her tomb by her brother, the good Duke John of Burgundy, is preserved at the Louvre. The Carmelites or Billettes, so called because the previous occupants of the monastery wore small scapulars termed *billettes*, were in what is now the rue des Archives. Their chapel, where the Academy in its early years held masses for deceased members, has been since 1809 a Lutheran church, and their cloisters are attached to an elementary school. The Pères de la Merci, vestiges of whose monastery still exist, were likewise in the present rue des Archives. There were also Carmelite nuns in the adjoining rue Beaubourg. The abbey of St. Antoine, which gave its name to a quarter of the city, is now a hospital, and the chapel of the Visitandines in the rue St. Antoine is a Protestant church retaining the original name of St. Marie. The English Conceptionist nuns were a short distance beyond the Bastille, and were not a little terrified when that fortress was attacked. Nor must I forget the abbey of St. Martin, now the Arts et Métiers, the chapel turned into a machine-room, and the cells, so far as they have not been demolished, into a museum. On the outskirts of the city was St. Lazare, where St. Vincent de Paul was buried, with a large field on the north of it. When the monks who there took charge of young delinquents were expelled, their places being taken by political suspects, as depicted by Delaroche in his famous picture of the last batch of the guillotined, the saint's heart in its silver casket was smuggled out in a volume of "Lives of the Saints," hollowed out for the purpose, and after preservation in Italy and at Lyons is

now at the chapel in the rue de Sèvres. Just on the opposite side of the street stood the Filles-Dieu or Gray Sisters convent, which in 1816 became the maison-de-santé Dubois, a hospital for paying patients. It was demolished in 1853, when the boulevard de Strasbourg was made, the establishment being removed to No. 200 in the same street. The Récollets monastery, faubourg St. Laurent, used during the Revolution for a spinning-factory, and afterwards converted into a military hospital, is about to make way for a square. In the same neighbourhood, standing in the faubourg St. Martin, was the Enfant Jésus convent.

Turning back towards the then unfinished Madeleine, there was on the north, in what is now the rue Caumartin, a newly erected Capucin monastery, the chapel of which became a printing office.¹ In 1803 it was converted into a college, and it is now the lycée Condorcet. Behind the Madeleine was a Benedictine nunnery with spacious grounds, that quarter of Paris being called the Ville l'Evêque.

I have not spoken of the Nouvelles Catholiques, or asylum of converts from Protestantism, in the rue St. Anne,² the chapel of which is said still to exist at 10 rue St. Roch; the Daughters of Calvary, south-east of the Temple; another community of Minimes in the rue St. Antoine; the Daughters of the Cross and the St. Marguérite nuns in the adjoining faubourg; the Hospitalières of Roquette, the site till recently occupied by a prison where the Commune massacred the hostages in 1871; or Notre Dame de Bon-Secours, which was close by. In the same quarter was the nunnery of Picpus, named from a village said to have been tormented with a certain parasite and therefore named *pique puce*, an etymology, however, which is dubious. The Franciscans also had a monastery there. Nearly or quite outside the walls were the famous Benedictine nunnery of Montmartre and the convent of Chaillot. Montmartre was still a village, clustering round the old

¹ See p. 282.

² See *English Historical Review*, April 1898.

church and the convent. The former is still standing, but the latter has disappeared, except some vestiges in the place Ravignan, and in the autumn of 1896, under a pent-house at No. 28, the burial crypt was discovered. Chaillot, to which Mary of Modena retired on the death of James II. and where she was buried, occupied the site of the present Trocadéro, a building erected in 1878, up to which time Chaillot and Longchamp had still a village look and were only partially built upon. Close by was a Minimite monastery.

But on the south of the Seine monastic establishments were, considering the smaller area, much more numerous and far exceeded the space occupied by private houses. First and foremost was "L'Abbaye"—*the abbey par excellence*—that of the Benedictines in St. Germain des Prés. It had produced men of great erudition; within its walls were also composed the realistic romances of that untractable monk the abbé Prévost. Out of the same portals proceeded devotion and licentiousness. The abbey was world-famous for its 50,000 books and 7000 manuscripts, destined, alas, to destruction, not from Jacobin fanaticism, but because the building was used in 1794 for a saltpetre factory, and an accidental fire destroyed all but the church. The abbey prison, a detached building at one corner, was the scene of the fearful massacres of September 1792. A drawing in Prudhomme's *Révolutions de Paris* represents the victims as being slaughtered outside the gate, the murderers there waiting for them, but in the letterpress the corpses are said to have been heaped up in the court, where it seems likely that most at least of the butchery took place. The prison was demolished in 1854. The abbey stood apart, but many other establishments were grouped together, forming quite a monastic *enclave*. Thus, in the rue and faubourg St. Jacques the Visitandines, the Dames de la Providence, the English Benedictines, the Val-de-Grâce (now a military hospital), and the Capucins were all in a line. The English Benedictines had charge of the body of James II., pending the long-expected translation

to Westminster Abbey. In their petition to the National Assembly for exemption from suppression they adroitly cited this deposit :—

The church of the English Benedictines contains the ashes of a king whose misfortunes were the glory, so to speak, of France. It would seem that all citizens of all classes should be interested in the preservation of an establishment which by the deposit it contains perpetuates in the eyes of all Europe the recollection of French generosity.¹

The tomb, alas, was destined to be desecrated for the sake of lead for gunpowder, and the body to disappear.² Other British communities were in the neighbourhood. There were the Austin nuns, whom Dr. Johnson had visited in 1775, and where Georges Sand was later on to be educated ; it was not demolished till 1859, when its spacious grounds were required for the rue Monge. There were the British Benedictine nuns in the rue de l'Alouette, a name commemorating the time when larks nestled in ground now covered with bricks and mortar.

To return to French monasteries, there were the Cordeliers, whose refectory became the headquarters of a club next in importance to the Jacobins. It is now a medical museum, the rest of the building having disappeared. There were also Cordelière nuns whose convent has become the Lourcine hospital. There was the monastery of the Petits Augustins, now the School of Fine Arts, and that of the Carthusians, whose garden, at one time added to the Luxembourg, now belongs to the Faculty of Medicine. There were Barefooted Carmelites and Carmelite nuns, with whom the Duchesse de la Vallière took refuge, Lebrun painting her in their church as Mary Magdalen. St. Joseph Bellechasse, Pentemont, a fashionable boarding-school,³ the chapel now a Protestant church and the rest of the

¹ D. xix. 51.

² See p. 522.

³ This was the school in which Jefferson placed his daughter Martha, and from which he was obliged to remove her on her hankering to become a nun.

building a barrack, Visitandines, Récollettes, and Carmelites, clustered between the Invalides and the Luxembourg. The Carmelite monastery, now the Catholic Institute or University, was another of the scenes of the September massacres. Of St. G  n  vi  ve's abbey the tower alone remains, as part of the lyc  e Henry IV. The Cluny monastery is now the museum of that name. The Halle-aux-Vins covers the site of St. Victor's abbey, while the Bernardin monastery, rue de Poitou, founded by an Englishman, Stephen of Lexington, in 1244, is now a fire-brigade station. The Filles de la Charit   is, or was till recently, the quarters of the Academy of Medicine. Port Royal, less interesting in its associations than the suburban branch so ruthlessly razed by Louis XIV., became a revolutionary prison, known as Port Libre or la Bourbe, for the street, or rather 'country road, in which it stood was so muddy as to have been named rue de la Bourbe. The Madelonnettes, or Notre Dame de la Charit  , was also a political prison. Then there were the Visitandines, Ursulines, Feuillantines, Dominicaines, the Abbaye-au-Bois, nuns of the Holy Sacrament, Our Lady of Consolation, Daughters of St. G  n  vi  ve or Miramiones, St. P  lagie—a Magdalen hospital likewise converted into a prison and continued as such till 1898—Ladies of the Congregation, Dames St. Thomas, and the Good Shepherd, as also Premonstrant monks, Th  atins, Mathurins, and Christian Brothers. Yet up to the very eve of the Revolution the number of communities had been undergoing a slight reduction, for no new ones were founded, and some died out or were closed on account of suspected Jansenism. The Revolution thus repeated on a larger scale what had been done by the old monarchy. Many of these communities, on both sides of the Seine, have given their names to streets or boulevards, but have otherwise left no trace.

When Dr. Lister visited Paris in 1698 numerous convent gardens were open to well-dressed people, but this had ceased to be the case, especially as some had been reduced

in size, the rise of rents having induced the religious congregations to line the streets on which they bordered with shops and dwelling-houses. These were the more in request as conventual precincts were exempt from the restrictions of the trade guilds, and in some cases afforded the privilege of sanctuary. Lister speaks of the Carthusians' garden as large and park-like, of the Célestins' as very fine and spacious, and of St. Génévieve as having a terrace surpassing in length and breadth anything of the kind in Paris. However curtailed in some cases, convent grounds must still have been tolerably spacious, for the cloistered orders were bound to have plenty of air within their impassable walls, and three-fourths of the nunneries were educational, so that playgrounds were indispensable. They moreover took adult boarders. Old maids scarcely existed, indeed, in those days, for unmarried girls usually took the veil, but widows without children, or whose children were all settled in life, hired rooms in nunneries. Wives or daughters who had misbehaved, or were unmanageable, were likewise relegated to convents, just as husbands or sons were sent to the Bastille and other fortresses.¹ Such was the paternal government, similar to that still existing in Russia, which France then possessed. But it is only fair to say that applications for domestic discipline underwent careful inquiry before detention was ordered. The convents were thus female Bastilles or literally houses of correction, and the nuns had not even the power of refusing to admit these *mauvais sujets*. In extreme cases, however, they appealed to the Government to be released from troublesome charges. The nunnery des Alloix at Limoges, where the elder Mirabeau, the "friend of man," had quartered his wife, obtained an order for her departure,

¹ There were also lodginghouse-prisons (*pensions de force*), and Saint-Just, at nineteen years of age, in 1786-87, was an inmate for six months of one of these, in the place du Trône, at the instance and expense of his mother, from whom he had abstracted some silver articles, in order to make his way to Paris (*Révolution Française*, February 1897). Minors can still, under certain regulations, be sent to prison by parents or guardians. Thus the *lettre de cachet* is not altogether extinct.

and she had to find another convent. On complaining to the Government of her semi-incarceration, she was told that a convent was the proper place for a woman who could not live with her husband.¹ The future Madame Roland, who had been educated by the Dames de la Congrégation, near the Panthéon, took refuge with them for two months in 1779 when twenty-three years of age as the only way of goading the vacillating Roland into marrying her.² These lone or naughty women of course required recreation grounds.

If convents were thus numerous south of the Seine, colleges were still more so, for it was then even more than now "the Latin quarter." There was the Sorbonne, as it existed till a few years ago, the chapel alone now remaining unaltered. There youths destined to be prominent revolutionists received prizes at the annual competition of Paris colleges. Lavoisier took the second prize for a French oration in 1760. Louis François Maximilien Marie Isidore de Robespierre—mark the flush of Christian names and the aristocratic particle—a student at Louis-le-Grand, in 1775 carried off three first prizes—for Latin verse, Latin translation, and Greek translation. In 1778 André Chénier, of Navarre College, had the first prize for a French oration, and an *accessit* for a Latin translation, while Lucien Simplicie Camille Benoit des Moulins—Camille Desmoulins is scarcely recognisable under this long name—had an *accessit* for a Latin oration. I may also mention that La Harpe, destined to be enthusiastic for the Revolution but ultimately to stigmatise it, took the grand prize in 1765 for his Latin oration, besides the first prize for Greek translation, the second prize for Latin verse, and an *accessit* for a French oration. Harcourt College must have been very proud of this student, the best of whose many compositions was that pretended prophecy of the Reign of Terror, Cazotte's vision.

Colleges clustered round the Sorbonne, some training young men for the priesthood, but most of them open also to the laity. There was the Collège des Quatre Nations, so

¹ O. I., 408.

² See p. 308.

called because founded by Mazarin for the "nations" of Pignerol, Flanders, Roussillon, and Alsace, which in 1806, as the Palais Mazarin, became the seat of the Institute; it had previously assembled at the Louvre. Mazarin's tomb, originally at the college, must be looked for at Versailles. There was Du Plessis College, where Lafayette and Anacharsis Cloots were educated, destined till it fell into ruins to serve as the Normal School. The college Louis-le-Grand now covers the site. There was the college Harcourt, where Talleyrand was a student, the college Montaigu, where Saint-Just as well as Desmoulins studied, the college Navarre (the Polytechnic School occupies the site), the colleges La Marche, Cardinal Lemoine, Grassins, and Lisieux. The Irish had two seminaries, the Lombards—now occupied by workshops and the chapel by a Catholic lecture-room—and the Cheval Vert; the English seminary was in the rue des Postes, now rue Lhomond; the Scotch College, next door to the Austin nunnery, is now let for a private school. The brain of James II. was dug up there in 1885 in excavating for a drainpipe. The great seminary of St. Sulpice stood a little to the north of the present building, on what is now a square. It was demolished in 1800, and rebuilt on the site of the Christian Doctrine convent. The Foreign Missions seminary, where the Irish priest Edgeworth, Louis XVI.'s confessor, was a resident, still exists in the rue du Bac. St. Magloire seminary boasted, as the deaf and dumb asylum which succeeded it still boasts, of possessing in its garden the oldest and finest elm in Paris, planted, according to tradition, by the great Sully in 1660, but as others think by the Oratorians on first settling there in 1572. It is 150 feet high, and has a girth at the base of 18 feet.

This multiplicity of colleges, thirty-four in all, was not an unmixed benefit. More than a century before, a correspondent of Colbert's had described them as nurseries of chicane, producing lawyers, registrars, priests, and monks, whereas they might be converted into commercial schools and turn out good navigators and merchants. It is certain

that the Revolution was hastened and intensified by the numbers of young men who had had a college education, and then, scorning trade or agriculture, found no scope under a monarchy which reserved the best posts for the nobility. By giving scholarships to clever and ambitious youths the monarchy undermined itself.

Paris was also studded with churches, somewhat like London before the Great Fire, or Norwich and York at the present day. There were forty-eight parish churches, besides the numerous monastic chapels, and the parishes were so irregular in size and shape that a rearrangement was becoming urgent. The *cité*, or island on which Notre Dame stands, had five churches, which have all disappeared. St. Philippe du Roule stood quite in the country. The Madeleine and Panthéon were in course of erection. The former was for a time the meeting-place of the Roule section, and was next used for making saltpetre. The Panthéon in August 1792 was suggested for the sittings of the Convention, but the Tuileries were preferred. Had it obtained the preference the Convention might have been less at the mercy of Jacobin mobs.

We must not suppose that the secularisation of churches, carried on so extensively not only in Paris but throughout France, gave a great shock to Catholic feeling. The electoral meetings of 1789, when no hostility had yet broken out against Catholicism, were all held in churches or convent chapels, the only buildings, indeed, available for large gatherings. In Catholic eyes a church loses its character of sanctity when the objects of ritual have been temporarily or permanently removed. The bells, it was ordered in June 1791, should be melted down for coinage into copper money.

As for palaces, the Duke of Orleans occupied that part of the Palais Royal which was not let out by him. The Luxembourg was assigned to Monsieur, the future Louis XVIII., and the Duc de Bourbon inhabited the palace across the river which, with a new Grecian frontage, still bears his name. The Louvre was already used for a

picture gallery, the biennial exhibitions being held there. The royal printing office was also there, and since 1770 the Comédie Française had been installed there, while in two other halls theatrical or musical entertainments were occasionally held. The adjoining Tuileries had not been a royal residence since 1743. The Academies met at the Louvre, and both there and at the Tuileries certain curators or officials had apartments, while the other rooms were granted for life to aristocratic families, frequently to widows, in straitened circumstances, as at Hampton Court and Kensington in England. There was a scramble for these lodgings, and some were bespoke or promised before they fell vacant. Successive life tenants of the Tuileries had for eighty years made themselves comfortable by putting up partitions and making doorways, but some of them had nevertheless to pass through their neighbours' kitchens for ingress or egress. All had abruptly to clear out on the 6th October 1789, when the royal family arrived from Versailles. Protests were unavailing. A complete clearance was made, some tenants having quarters found for them in various public edifices, and others being promised pecuniary compensation.

As for the slums surrounding the Tuileries, Baron Haussmann, who in 1852-54 swept them away, thus describes them :—

The first section of the rue de Rivoli, bordering on the Tuileries gardens, stopped short at the Pavillon de Marsan and the passage Delorme. Beyond was a noisome quarter consisting of dingy houses intersected by narrow alleys, which extended from the rue St. Honoré to the place du Carrousel, most of which was choked up by it. It covered nearly the whole of the present surface of the place du Palais Royal, and then continued uninterruptedly alongside the Louvre, which it hemmed in on the west and north up to the so-called place de la Colonnade, likewise obstructed by dingy buildings.¹

A writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*² gives a more vivid picture :—

Grey-haired men remember what the place du Carrousel was

¹ *Mémoires*, t. 3.

² Vol. cxliii, p. 816.

before the Second Empire. . . . There was scarcely in all Paris a more seething or more picturesque slum. . . . You saw dingy hovels, the ruins of a church, a riding-school, rows of lime-trees, stone-masons' yards, dingy hotels where, in sight of the Tuileries and the Ministries, young embassy *attachés* and budding lawyers came to lodge. I have never understood how there was room for all this and yet space for waste ground. In the hovels swarmed bird-sellers, brokers, and shabby wineshops, and in the waste ground jugglers and dentists, quacks and dog-gelders. Everywhere a sprinkling of beggars *à la* Callot. It was a great Cour des Miracles

In these alleys Marie Antoinette and her attendant lost themselves on the night of the flight of 1791, when they slipped into the shade to avoid Lafayette's carriage, and were thus delayed a few minutes, though it is not the fact that they wandered into the rue du Bac, for how could they have passed under the Louvre gallery, which connected the two palaces, and crossed the bridge without seeing where they were going? The Tuileries court was encumbered with hawkers' stalls, which were not cleared away till the Consulate, and even Napoleon shrank from the expense of uniting the Tuileries and Louvre.

Surrounded on the Carrousel or east side by mansions, barracks, guard-house, and stalls, on the north by a wall shutting off the gardens, riding-school, and stables from the backs of the monasteries and houses in the rue St. Honoré, and having on the south a terrace flanking the river, without any roadway between, the Tuileries was scarcely visible from the streets. Only the roofs and the tops of trees could be discerned. Where the rue de Rivoli now skirts the garden, was a grassy avenue attached to the riding-school, which had been leased to private speculators.

Though the Court had been for a century at Versailles and courtiers mostly lived there, many aristocratic families had retained or acquired residences in Paris, for its theatres made it the centre of fashionable life. Some of these mansions, more or less transformed, still remain, or till recently remained, converted into public institutions. Witness the

Archives, the adjoining École des Chartes and Imprimerie Nationale, the Carnavalet Museum (Madame de Sévigné's house), the Bank of France (formerly the mansion of the Duc de la Vrillière), the Crédit Foncier, the Comptoir d'Escompte, and till 1877 the Post Office. Simultaneously with this last building disappeared the house inhabited by Rousseau, after whom the street was named. Other mansions have been turned into flats or workshops, and regret is occasionally expressed at their mutilation or demolition. The gardens which they originally possessed have, of course, long disappeared. The Hôtel de Sens, the former residence of the archbishops of that see, was thus recently threatened with destruction. The Pavillon de Hanovre, Christofle's jewellery shop, is the sole vestige of Marshal (the *roué*) Richelieu's mansion. It stood at one corner of his spacious grounds, and was so nicknamed by the populace in the belief that he had built it with a bribe from the defeated Duke of Cumberland for the convention of Klosterzeven in 1757, and Richelieu had cynically accepted the name. His mansion, entered by the rue Neuve St. Augustin at its junction with the rue d'Antin, was sold by his widow in 1792 to Cheradame, a paving contractor, and became an hotel. The so-called "victims' balls," the attendants at which had had relatives guillotined, or had themselves been imprisoned, were held there in 1795. The garden did not wholly disappear till 1830.

The Archbishop's palace, which adjoined Notre Dame, and where the Assembly sat for the first week after quitting Versailles, was converted into a prison hospital on the abjuration of Bishop Gobel, and from April to July 1794 was crowded with inmates, sometimes numbering as many as 227, though there were only 221 beds. The large hall used for ordinations, the meeting-place of the Paris electors, became the hall of the hospital. Again an episcopal residence on the restoration of Catholicism, it was pillaged and burnt down by the mob in 1831. The Hôtel des Fermes, the spacious building belonging to the revenue farmers—Chancellor Séguier built it in

1612, the famous Prince Eugène was born there, and the Academy for a time met there, but it had been rebuilt in 1780—existed, latterly used for a printing and railway goods office, till 1877. Lavoisier and his fellow revenue farmers were prisoners there, until removed to the Conciergerie for trial.

The Bourse was held in the garden of the old building of the East India Company in the rue Vivienne. It was closed during the Terror, when the term *agioteur* was a passport to the guillotine; but at the end of 1795 speculators assembled on the steps north of the Palais Royal, and shortly afterwards they found quarters till 1809, first in the church and then in the sacristy of the Petits Pères or Notre Dame des Victoires. The Opera from 1781 till 1794 stood at the north-east of the porte St. Martin, and then till 1820 on what is now the place Louvois, in front of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

As to prisons, there was the Bastille, which, reserved for a few aristocratic or literary offenders, was little feared, as Mercier tells us, by the populace. The Châtelet, at the corner of the Pont-au-Change, to which the Morgue was attached, excited much greater dread. This has entirely disappeared. La Force, named from a former owner, but so suitably named for a place of forcible detention, was assigned to debtors, and there the Earl of Massareene, an Irish peer, spent eight of his nineteen years of incarceration.¹ The adjoining Petite Force was allotted to loose women, as also were St. Pélagie, Salpêtrière, and the Madelonnettes.

The hospitals, with the exception of the Hôtel Dieu,² close by Notre Dame, were in the faubourgs, and stood almost in the country. St. Louis was near the faubourg St. Martin,³ la Pitié in the faubourg St. Victor, the Foundling Asylum, now St. Eugénie, in the faubourg

¹ See my "Englishmen in the French Revolution."

² Re-named Hospice de l'Humanité.

³ The small cemetery assigned to Protestants, natives or foreigners, adjoined it, in what is now the rue des Ecluses St. Martin.

St. Antoine, and the Cochin Hospital in the faubourg St. Jacques. The Beaujon hospital was then an orphanage. Another Foundling Asylum, where Rousseau got rid of his children, was in the *Cité*, near Notre Dame. The Quinze-Vingts, a hospital the name of which indicated 300 beds, was in the rue Charenton, beyond the Bastille.

Considering the large area occupied by the monasteries, the colleges, the churches, the Bastille and other prisons, the cemeteries (recently closed, the Innocents' cemetery being turned in 1786 into a public garden), the promenades, of which we have yet to speak, and the tracts of garden ground, it is not surprising to find that a great part of Paris consisted of narrow and densely-peopled streets, with projecting upper stories, gables, and signboards. Thiébauld, one of Napoleon's generals, tells us that on first entering Paris in 1777 at the age of seven, and on revisiting it seven years later, the faubourg St. Jacques and the centre of the city were really horrible.¹ Even the main streets were narrow and winding. The working class were cooped up in alleys without a ray of sunshine, and 100,000 of them were lodged in cellars by the river-side, always damp and occasionally flooded, so that in the middle of the night the miserable occupants had to drag their pallets out into the rain or mud. Slums surrounded the Châtelet. These places were doubtless the dwellings, I will not say homes, of the Terrorist mobs, the Convention sitting at the Tuileries being within easy reach. The streets, moreover, were filthy, and the shops were low and dim, almost bare of ornament. From the butchers' shops issued streams of gore, which in summer were a source of infection. Thus accustomed to the sight of blood, the Parisians were the less shocked at the carnage of the guillotine. Several of the bridges had recently been cleared of houses, but some still stood on the Pont Neuf, for in 1790 the Pont Neuf section claimed them as within its bounds. Œlsner, a German, who was in Paris from February to August 1792, speaks of the streets as so narrow and the houses as so

¹ *Mémoires*, i. 23, 140.

lofty that the sky could be seen only from the fifth story. Carlyle's impression in 1824 would have been doubly true in 1789, for many improvements had in the meantime been made: "With few exceptions the streets are narrow, crowded, and unclean; the kennel (*sic*) in the middle, and a lamp hanging over it here and there on a rope from side to side; there are no footpaths."

The *Cité* proper, or island, was, on the north of Notre Dame, a network of gloomy alleys, never penetrated by the sun, some too narrow for vehicles to traverse. Even before the Revolution there had been a scheme for improving it, and in the spring of 1794 the Commune was recommended to undertake the work, on the ground that the putrid wells were impregnated with saltpetre, which would be very serviceable, that employment would thus be provided for artisans, and that the operation would be remunerative. Nothing, however, was then done, whereas unfortunately in our days "improvement" has gone so far that the effect of Notre Dame is grievously impaired by a wide square and streets of lofty commonplace houses.

About a hundred persons, it was calculated, were annually crushed by vehicles, while multitudes were bespattered with mud from the gutters (Carlyle's "kennels" or channels), flung from the horses' hoofs or carriage wheels.¹ "Nobody but mean people walk in Paris," said Johnson rather ungrammatically in 1776. "Those who cannot afford carriages," wrote Dr. Moore in 1789, "skulk behind the pillars"—the *bornes* placed against the houses to protect them from vehicles—"or run into the shops, to avoid being crushed by the coaches, which are driven as near the wall as the coachman pleases." But during the Terror private carriages almost disappeared, horses being frequently confiscated for the use of the army, and even cabs were less numerous, so that the danger to pedestrians was sensibly diminished. An anonymous pamphlet of 1784 had advocated the

¹ At night pedestrians were liable to be soused by unsavoury liquids thrown from upstairs windows without the preliminary warning of "*gare l'eau*."

introduction of footpaths, so that children, as in London, might not be shut up indoors, but might safely play in the streets. The *bornes*, it urged, would thus become unnecessary. In 1793 it was ordered that all new streets should have foot-pavements, but this seems to have remained a dead letter. In 1802 footpaths were again advocated by Arthur Dillon, a Neapolitan engineer, of Irish descent, and a few streets were provided with them, but they were raised inconveniently high above the level of the street, and there was no pavement but simply a "curb." As late as the 24th December 1823 an ordinance treated footpaths as a luxury at the option of house-proprietors. Hence they were not styled *trottoirs* but *barrières*, indicating that their object was to protect houses from vehicles, rather than to accommodate pedestrians, and their width was limited to a metre and a half. The same ordinance prohibited projecting signs or rain-pipes.

Though described by Horace Walpole as "the beastliest town in the universe," Paris, with all its drawbacks, was undoubtedly the capital of Europe. It attracted visitors from all nations, and it set the fashions to the world. Dolls were dressed up in the numerous dressmakers' shops, then on the ground floor, with the work-girls to be seen through the windows, and were sent all over the Continent, and even to America, as models. Marie Antoinette, when going in procession through Paris, would look down and give a friendly smile to her dressmaker, Mlle. Bertin, with whom at Versailles she discussed the fashions. English bonnets, however, had superseded the pyramids of hair which had occasioned such trouble and inconvenience.

The great centre of traffic—and we may judge by this how the axis of Paris has since shifted—was the Pont Neuf, a title which had become a misnomer, but appropriate enough in 1604, when L'Etoile, the French Pepys, said of its deceased builder Marchand that he had "gone to construct bridges in the other world." Along with the Pont Royal it enjoyed the advantage of foot-pavements. It could have undergone but little alteration

in 1824, when Carlyle wrote to Miss Welsh, his future wife—"Jugglers, and quacks, and cooks, and barbers, and dandies, and gulls, and sharpers were racketing away with a deafening hum at their manifold pursuits." If, after being posted there a few days, private detectives did not see the man they wanted, they knew that he was not in Paris. There crimps by every sort of trickery recruited for the army, and there an Englishman won a bet that for two hours he would offer new six-franc pieces for twenty-four sous, or one-fifth of their value, without disposing of 200 of them. In point of fact his only customer was a woman who took three, on the chance of their not being counterfeit. The statue of Henry IV., near the centre of the bridge, before which the mob in 1789 forced aristocrats to descend from their carriages and kneel, was pulled down in 1792 and melted for cannon. There were only six other bridges, viz., the Pont-au-Change and the Pont Notre Dame, leading to the Cité, two from the Cité to the south of the Seine, and two connecting the isle St. Louis with the banks on each side. The two islands were unconnected by bridges, or rather the three, for there was then also the isle Louvier, which has since become part of the north bank. The isle St. Louis had been planted with trees about 1632 by Christoffe Marie, who built at his own expense the bridge named after him, connecting the island with the north bank, and these were the first lines of trees which Paris had seen. A second line was shortly afterwards planted below Pont Neuf.

One great resort of visitors and loungers was the Palais Royal. This, with its gardens, had only recently assumed their present form. The Duke of Orleans, then Duc de Chartres, the future citizen Égalité, heedless of the outcry against him, had in 1780 erected a new palace, the colonnades of which not only reduced the size of the garden, but deprived the inhabitants of the adjoining streets of their view and of access to it from the backs of their houses. The garden, previously the resort of good company, had become the most disreputable promenade

in Paris, yet all strangers hurried thither to see, if not to share in, the vices of the capital. There was much complaint of pocket-picking, of clandestine gaming-houses, and of the sale of obscene books. A circus stood in the centre. Under the colonnades were *cafés*, gaming-houses, reading-rooms, and shops of every description. Well might Prince Henry of Prussia say of the place in 1784, "It is neither a palace nor royal."

There were, however, other public gardens. Those of the Tuileries were laid out very much as at present, the small piece of water included in which the viragoes were near ducking Théroigne de Méricourt, but they were entered only by a drawbridge at the place Louis XV., by a narrow street, then called rue du Dauphin, now rue St. Roch, and by a narrow passage between the Feuillant and Capucin monasteries where the rue Castiglione now runs. The rue de Rivoli did not exist, the Manège or riding-school originally erected for Louis XIV. as a tablet on the spot commemorates, forming the northern boundary. The Arsenal gardens, now covered by streets and by the canal from the Seine to the Bastille, were also a spacious promenade, though they had lost the country prospect admired by Lister in 1698. The pré St. Gervais was in the same direction. The Temple gardens, replanted by Marigny in 1764, so that there could have been no trees of great size, were more accessible, and debtors there, as anywhere within the precincts, were safe from arrest. It all belonged to the Knights of Malta, heirs or supplanters of the Templars.

The Champs Élysées, however, had already become one of the chief promenades. Designed and named in 1670, as an extension of the Cours-la-Reine, which had four lines of fine trees, it had only recently been completed. Its name was more appropriate then than now, for there were no houses in it, nor any indeed between the lower half of the faubourg St. Honoré and the Seine. What was not public promenade consisted of meadows and market gardens, and in July 1789 a surgeon living near asked permission to send

two cows to graze in the meadows separating the Champs Élysées from Cours-la-Reine, to supply milk to his patients, but the permission was limited to a single cow. In 1791 there was a protest against a scheme of building on these meadows and gardens, Paris, it was urged, being dependent on them for milk and vegetables. An ordinance of 1726 against other than temporary erections or sheds was accordingly enforced. It was not until 1846 that Rond-Point was laid out in something like its present shape, a remodelling taking place in 1860; nor was it till after the first International Exhibition of 1855, held in the now recently demolished Palace of Industry, erected on what had been an expanse of grass, that houses began to be constructed in the upper part of the Champs Élysées. There was a large oblong space, not planted with trees, between the avenue des Tuileries, as the avenue des Champs Élysées was then called, and the Cours-la-Reine, which were connected by two transverse avenues, the avenue des Princes (now the avenue d'Antin), and the avenue des Veuves¹ (now the avenue Montaigne). This space, perhaps also the border of the avenue des Tuileries, and a wide space in the middle, was covered with grass, for Anacharsis Cloots speaks of two boys lying on the grass in the Champs Élysées, and in turn reading a book aloud. They answered so intelligently his remarks on the advantages of education that he asked them to join him in vigorously shouting "Vive la République!"

The Champs Élysées were not of course lit up at night. Paris itself, though lanterns had in 1766 been superseded by lamps, placed at street corners or suspended in the middle of the road, dispensed, indeed, with lights in summer, and had them for only a few hours in winter. The Champs Élysées were illuminated, however, on grand occasions, but only half-way up from the place Louis XV. (now de la Concorde) to the *barrière*, the future site of the Arc de Triomphe. So frequented were they on Sundays

¹ A few cottages stood in the triangle between the avenue des Veuves and the Cours-la-Reine.

that in August 1791 the municipality, to save promenaders from being covered with dust, resolved to water the avenues on Sundays and holidays till the 1st October. On the 18th September of that year the promulgation of the Constitution was celebrated there by the ascent of a balloon, which, after an hour's trip, alighted thirty miles off, and at ten at night the royal family drove through to see the illuminations. They were loudly cheered, albeit only three months had elapsed since the ignominious return from Varennes. The illuminations were the work of the municipality, but touched by the manifestation of the love of his people, and wishing to give them a second festival, Louis XVI. on the following Sunday lit up both the Champs Élysées and the Tuileries gardens at his own expense. *Cafés*, shows, concerts, and amusements of all sorts were dotted over the Champs Élysées.¹ The northern avenue, bordered by the gardens of the faubourg St. Honoré houses, was the favourite promenade. Near it stood the Colisée, the Jardin Mabille of that time, where balls and other entertainments were held, any theatrical performance, however, being forbidden as an infringement of the privileges of the theatres. A large space between the present Rond-Point and the avenue de Marigny was planted with trees.

As for the place de la Concorde, where 120 persons were trampled to death in 1770 at the celebration of the Dauphin's marriage, an equestrian statue of Louis XV.—pulled down with other royal emblems in August 1792—gave it its original name. Menageries and other shows were stationed in it, but in the spring of 1794 the sculptured horses from the old royal palace at Marly were placed in it. The bridge at one end of it was not completed till 1790.

The boulevards, however, were the chief resort on Sundays and holidays, except for those who went to

¹ Delecluze, in his "Life of Louis David," tells us that toy guillotines were sold there, and that in the Punch and Judy shows guillotining was substituted for hanging.

suburban villages. Not that the principal shops were there, for the rue St. Honoré was the great business street. The Flemish or German term "boulevard" had survived, though the *bulwarks* had been removed, save the portion between the chaussée d'Antin and the Madeleine, which remained till 1858, and the memory of which is still preserved by what is left of the rue Basse-du-Rempart. The greater part of that street was demolished in 1858, when the Opera was being erected, and another portion disappeared in 1893. Three of the gates, however, those of St. Martin, St. Denis, and the Temple, had been left standing. Minor theatres, the waxworks of Curtius, Madame Tussaud's uncle—whence the mob on the 12th July 1789 carried off the busts of Necker and Orleans to parade them in triumph—and other places of amusement were to be found on or near the boulevards. These included Astley's circus, with its two tiers of galleries and its 2000 lamps. Curtius, by the way—a German whose real name was Kreutz—had an exhibition in the Palais Royal as well as in the faubourg du Temple. There might be seen, in life size, the royal family, Frederick the Great, and Cagliostro.

The Luxembourg gardens have been by turns reduced and extended, but the part immediately in front of Marie de Medicis' palace has never been tampered with. "Monsieur" (the future Louis XVIII.), to whom the palace was assigned in 1778, but who contented himself as a residence with the Petit Luxembourg, a smaller building on the west, built by Richelieu, sold part of the gardens, which was built upon and in honour of his wife named rue Madame. The gardens were but little frequented prior to the Revolution, but Diderot and Rousseau had promenaded in them. Close by was the café Procope, which was frequented by Marat, Danton, and Hébert, and which was not definitely closed till 1900.

The Bois de Boulogne, though the scene of open-air balls, was still the King's hunting-ground, and in 1777

Soliman Aga, nephew by marriage of the Bey of Tunis, was taken there to shoot pheasants, while in the plain St. Denis he shot twenty-three hares. Only in Passion Week was it much resorted to. Fashionable Paris then flocked to the nunnery, of which the windmill alone remains, to hear the best female vocalists, engaged for the services. During the Revolution, Bagatelle, the hunting-box of the King's younger brother Artois, being confiscated, became a popular restaurant, but the Bois was not really a park till fifty years ago, the lakes being made in 1853. The villagers of Boulogne took advantage of the Revolution to begin cutting down the trees for fuel. On the 6th December 1789, 400 national guards arrested fifty-six delinquents, twenty of whom were fined.¹ As for the Champ de Mars, it was on the eve of becoming more accessible by the bridge (*de la Concorde*) designed by the famous *pontifex* Perronet, who, though dismissed from office, lived to 1794, to the age of eighty-six, to see it completed. Some of the stones of the Bastille were used for it. But at the Federation of 1790 the procession had to cross the Seine to the Champs de Mars by a bridge of boats. So deserted was the spot at dusk that the Lameth-Castries duel took place there, for the sake of privacy, though Lameth had wished it to be in the Champs Élysées, in order to have a sympathising crowd. Bailly was guillotined there on the 10th November 1793, because there, as mayor of Paris, he had ordered the military on the 17th July 1791 to charge the mob.

Such was the Paris of the Revolution. What remains of it? The four buildings most closely associated with the Revolution have disappeared. The Bastille after its capture was quickly demolished,² and the column erected on its site commemorates not July 1789 but July 1830. The Hôtel de Ville, disfigured by the addition of two wings in 1837, was

¹ The Bois de Vincennes also underwent depredations.

² But some slight remains of its foundations were discovered in 1898 in making the Metropolitan railway.

burnt down by the Commune in 1871. Its demolition was proposed by Fréron seven days after Robespierre's fall, on the ground that it had been the tyrant's "Louvre," but this absurd suggestion found no supporters. The edifice has been reconstructed in similar style. The Manège, in which the Assemblies sat from October 1789 to May 1793, was demolished to make way for the rue de Rivoli. In 1800 it was used for a menagerie. A tablet indicates its site. The Tuileries were also burnt by the Commune in 1871, and a garden covers the site. Next to these four buildings in historical interest are the sites of the guillotine. It stood in the place du Carrousel till the 19th May 1793, when the Convention, installed in the Tuileries, disliked the vicinity of blood, albeit little foreseeing that executions would become a daily spectacle. The guillotine was accordingly removed to the place de la Révolution¹ (re-named Concorde in 1795), between the Garde Meuble and the pedestal of the statue of Louis XV., a statue superseded in July 1793 by one of Liberty,² famous for the invocation of Madame Roland. The death carts did not always take precisely the same route to it. Starting from the Palace of Justice, they sometimes passed along the quai de l'Horloge, crossed the Pont Neuf, and then went through the rues de la Monnaie and du Roule. At other times they took the Pont-au-Change, quai de la Mégisserie, and rue de l'Arbre Sec. In either case they went through the rue St. Honoré, and the shopkeepers complained that their trade suffered from such processions. It should be explained that Louis XVI., starting not from the Palace of Justice but from the Temple, was taken round by the boulevards to the place de la Révolution, and even when summoned before the Convention at the Tuileries nearly the same route had been taken,

¹ Chateaubriand was not a true prophet when, on searching for the spot where Charles I. was beheaded at Whitehall, he said: "Thus the foreigner a few years hence will ask for the place where Louis XVI. perished, and apathetic generations will scarcely be able to tell him." Louis's daughter, the Duchess of Angoulême, on re-entering Paris in 1814, said she would never pass the place de la Concorde, but she could scarcely have been able for sixteen years to avoid doing so.

² In plaster; bronze was to have been, but never was substituted.

in preference to passing through narrow zigzag streets to the rue St. Honoré. The only difference was that he turned off the boulevard to the rue des Capucines and the place Vendôme, repeating the route taken by the whole royal family in September 1792 in going from the Feuillant monastery to the Temple. Even on the boulevards the road was narrow between the Porte St. Martin and the Porte St. Denis, for though the ramparts had been demolished, a short narrow street ran parallel with the boulevard. When the King, therefore, was on his way to the Convention, there was a block of vehicles at that point, and he expressed surprise that the two gates (as a glorification of Louis XIV.) had not been demolished. The mayor Chambon, who escorted him, replied that the Porte St. Denis as a masterpiece of art might be preserved. Both gates in the summer of 1793 narrowly escaped defacement at the hands of the Commune. But to return to the guillotine. In deference to the complaints of the rue St. Honoré tradesmen, the guillotine on the 8th June 1794 was removed, not to the place de Grève, in front of the Hôtel de Ville, the spot formerly used for executions,¹ but to the place St. Antoine, and after five days, the inhabitants again objecting, to the place du Trône, *alias* place du Trône Renversé, now place de la Nation. The carts probably crossed the pont Notre Dame and the place de Grève, and then passed through the rues de la Coutellerie, de la Tissanderie (which has disappeared), and St. Antoine. Or they may have taken the Pont-au-Change, the houses on which had just been demolished, into the rue de la Coutellerie, or the rues la Verrerie and la Sicile. The rue and faubourg St. Antoine were in any case traversed. The place du Trône was so far from the city and so little built upon that the Baron de Batz, the royalist who had tried to organise a conspiracy for the rescue of Marie Antoinette on her way to the scaffold, actually made nocturnal appointments at the foot of the guillotine with Vallier, co-owner of

¹ As also for strikes, whence the word *grève*, which originally meant river-side, has come to signify a strike.

an estate in the Puy-de-Dôme, to settle business matters. Batz was liable to arrest and death at any moment, yet without fear of detection—people probably shunned by night the scene of daily butcheries—he there coolly spent hours with his partner in discussing business.¹ The partner was ultimately arrested, but Batz was never captured.

The guillotine was brought back to the place de la Concorde for the execution of Robespierre and his associates, evidently in order that a great crowd might witness the sight. Six weeks before, he had passed through the square from the Tuileries gardens at his crowning triumph, the festival of the Supreme Being, and had marched past the statue of Liberty; the guillotine, it being Décadi, the Jacobin sabbath, was then at rest, and was hidden by rich drapery.

The Conciergerie and Palace of Justice have been partially destroyed, but there is shown the cell, though much altered, occupied for two months by Marie Antoinette. Still used as a cell until 1819, it is now the chapel, and there the Duke of Orleans attended mass in 1890, when, defying the law of banishment, he entered France to claim military service. There was an idea in 1869 of demolishing the cell, but Napoleon III. declared that it would be sacrilege to meddle with it, and he never held receptions, it may be remarked, on the anniversary of Louis XVI.'s death. The low door, however, under which the guides represent the Queen as having passed, is believed to be of later date.

In the adjoining Palace of Justice, the salle de l'Égalité, in which both Marat and Charlotte Corday were tried, has disappeared, but the salle de la Liberté, whence Danton's thundering accents on his trial could be heard by the crowd below on the quai de l'Horloge, is now the first chamber of the civil tribunal. Marie Antoinette, the Girondins, and ultimately their accuser Fouquier-Tinville, were also tried there. The archway to the cour de May, where the victims mounted the tumbrils, also remains.

¹ *Souvenirs de Berryer (père)*, i. 258.

The Temple, in the tower of which the royal family were confined, was demolished, what remained of it, in 1811, but a weeping-willow in the garden, planted in 1814 by the Duchess of Angoulême, shows where the tower stood. A market since 1802 covers the site of the monastery in the rue St. Honoré where the Jacobin club met. The café Corazza, in the Palais Royal, is the building where Robespierre's overthrow was concerted. The Chapelle Expiatoire marks the spot where Louis and his Queen were interred, and where they lay until transported to St. Denis in 1815, but the field or garden at the north-west corner of the rue du Rocher, used after the closing of it as a cemetery from fear of infection, is now covered with houses, in digging the foundations of which the bones of some of the 1300 victims were discovered—possibly those of Princess Elizabeth, or Danton, or Robespierre.

Notre Dame is of course unchanged. There we can fancy an Opera dancer enthroned, as symbol of Liberty.¹ At the Panthéon, too, we can picture to ourselves the apotheosis of Voltaire and Rousseau in 1791, the pompous funeral of Mirabeau, and the equally pompous funeral of Marat. But let us not imagine that all of them still lie there. Mirabeau was ignominiously ousted on the discovery of his relations with the Court, and Marat on the collapse of Jacobinism.

The Luxembourg should remind us that on its being made a political prison (it had temporarily been the Ministry of Justice), iron bars were fixed on the windows, doors walled up, and partitions erected. As the palace, moreover, had many entrances, which it would have required numerous sentries to guard, a high hoarding was put up all round it. The prisoners seem for a time to have been able to promenade inside the hoarding, for we hear of friends exchanging hurried greetings through the crevices. To prevent this a rope was placed at ten paces outside the hoarding, and the distance was gradually increased until even promenaders in the gardens could not without a glass recognise captive friends standing at the upper

¹ See p. 114.

windows.¹ Desmoulins, confined in a room by himself, managed to see his mother-in-law in the gardens, trembling with emotion, but he had to write to his wife to buy him an eyeglass so that he, a little short-sighted, might perceive her as she hovered round the building during his short captivity. If we are to believe M. Louis Favre,² inscriptions by the prisoners on the walls and beams of the attics were visible until 1871, when the Luxembourg became for a time the Prefecture of the Seine, but this reads like a variation of the Carmelite legend presently to be mentioned, and when we hear of the dilapidated condition of the Palace, which obliged the Directory and Consulate to instal themselves in the Petit Luxembourg, it seems likely that inscriptions, if there were any, disappeared during the renovations undergone by the building at that period. The so-called Luxembourg prison, demolished in 1848, was the old convent of the Daughters of Calvary, which served as a barrack from shortly after the Revolution till 1830, and in 1835 was assigned to political prisoners.

The Mint on the quai Conti should remind us that Condorcet (whose statue now stands close by) and his handsome and intelligent wife lived there till the King's return from Varennes in 1791, when republican views induced Condorcet to resign the post which had entitled him to that residence. It is but a short distance from the Mint to 73 rue de Lille, where Condorcet resided in 1792, or to 15 rue Servandoni (then 21 rue des Fossoyeurs, an ominous address for the lodging-house, patronised chiefly by medical students), where for ten months he was sheltered by Madame Vernet, widow of a sculptor akin to the famous family of artists. Thither Madame Condorcet, in peasant's dress, would walk over from Auteuil, not avoiding the place de la Révolution with its horrible guillotine, lest she should attract

¹ David, when imprisoned as a Robespierriist, sketched from his window the gardens, with the country visible in the background.

² *Le Luxembourg*, 1882.

suspicion, and awaiting outside the house a signal which told her she might enter. There, too, faithful servants sometimes conveyed messages, and there Condorcet wrote the *Esquisse des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*, which expressed that firm faith in progress which with him took the place of dogmatic religion. One of his fellow-lodgers, Marcoz, also a member of the Convention, brought him newspapers and tidings, being much too honest to denounce him, but too timorous, like many others, to protest against his proscription. The brave Madame Vernet, on the other hand, not only deliberately risked her life by harbouring an outlaw, but refused any payment for his room.

The Carmelite monastery is now, as I have said, the Catholic Institute or University. On part of the garden being expropriated in 1867, the bones of some of the 120 clerical victims of September 1792 were found in the well, and are now preserved in the crypt. But in visiting it let us beware of being misled by Lamartine's account of the attic styled "the Girondins' room." The Girondins were never confined there, nor were the inscriptions on the walls traced in blood, but with ink which has turned green with age. They were the work of Destournelles, ex-minister of taxes, a witness against the Girondins, who was confined there from May to August 1794. His handwriting has been identified by M. Sorel,¹ and he evidently beguiled his captivity by ornamenting the walls with all the classical quotations, mostly stoical or declamatory, which he could remember. The "Martyrs' Chapel" at the Carmelites still, however, shows blood-stains on the walls and floors. St. Germain des Prés church is yet extant to remind us of the massacre enacted in its adjoining courts. St. Sulpice church reminds us of the banquet given there to Bonaparte on his return from Italy. The English Benedictine priory, where Dr. Johnson was made to feel quite at home—Cowley, the prior, accompanied by Father Wilkes,

¹ Sorel, *Couvent des Carmes*.

ironically styled by his fellows "No. 45," after his notorious namesake John Wilkes, renewed his acquaintance in London two years later—has passed into private hands. It is now 165 *bis* rue St. Jacques. The steps of St. Roch's church remind us of the suppression of the rising of Vendémiaire, in which Bonaparte played a certain though not the leading part, but the front of the church no longer, as on Carlyle's visit, shows traces of the fight. We still see the Garde Meuble, now the Ministry of Marine, which was robbed of its arms on the eve of the attack on the Bastille, and robbed also of its state jewels in September 1792, and close by it the hôtel (mansion) de l'Infantado, from the corner of which there was access by the narrow passage de l'Orangerie to the Tuileries gardens. There the Emperor Alexander, as Talleyrand's guest, stayed in 1814; it is now the property of a Rothschild. A little farther east is the place Vendôme. In this square took place on the 19th June 1792 a grand holocaust of 652 volumes or bundles of genealogical documents from the Royal (now National) Library. For this vandalism Amailhou, the librarian, was responsible. On the 9th August 1793 a similar bonfire was made on the place de Grève. It is but fair to say that the period of vandalism—a word coined by Bishop Grégoire after the fall of Jacobinism—was of brief duration, measures being taken by committees of the Convention for the preservation of literary and artistic rarities. A less irreparable holocaust was the burning of the Pope's bull against the civil constitution of the clergy, in the place Royale (now place des Vosges) on May-day 1791, followed two days afterwards by the burning of the Pope's effigy in the Palais Royal gardens.

Parc Monceau, Égalité's hunting-box, though reduced in size, tells us of Marie Antoinette's last drive before her captivity, on the 20th June 1792. She little thought that her sister-in-law, Princess Elizabeth, would be buried close by the corner of it. That cemetery, as I have said, is covered by houses, but at the opposite

extremity of Paris the field in which the Noailles family and other victims of the guillotine were interred was purchased five-and-twenty years afterwards by their families and entrusted to the care of the Picpus nuns. In their adjoining chapel are inscribed the names of the sufferers, and Lafayette¹ and others have been buried alongside their kindred.

In the identification of private houses associated with revolutionary celebrities there are two difficulties: changes in the names of streets and changes in the system of numbering. Tennyson asked the French in 1848—

“Why change the titles of your streets?
Ye fools, you’ll want them back again.”

In December 1793 a report submitted to the Commune advocated a general—I was going to say rechristening, but Christianity was then abolished—a general re-naming of the streets. Most of them, it was suggested, might be named from the provincial towns in which direction they led, just as the rue St. Denis led to St. Denis. Others might be called after great men, following the example of Nancy, which had already a rue Sidney, for Algernon Sidney had then a sort of apotheosis in France. Others, again, might temporarily bear simply numbers, as had been done at Philadelphia. Another suggestion was that the streets should be named after moral qualities, frugality, temperance, &c. No such general transformation was effected, but the sections or the municipality, not content with expunging the term “Saint,” had already begun to make partial changes. Thus in September 1792 the rue St. Anne became the rue Helvétius, the famous philosopher having lived there, and its old title was not restored till 1814, when Madame de Staël, who then resided in it, heard a cabman, confusing old and new titles, call it “St. Helvétius.” This “singular canonisation,” as she terms it, reminds us of David Hume’s street in Edinburgh

¹ Lafayette, by the way, lived in 1789 at what is now 119 rue de Lille, but the house has either been renovated or rebuilt.

getting the name of St. David's. The rue des Cordeliers was re-named after Marat upon his death, the place Notre Dame became the place de la Raison, and the rue Richelieu the rue des Piques, the pike being the equipment of the National Guards. Pinkerton, the geographer, in 1802 found the concurrent use of old and new names very inconvenient.

But although the streets rechristened—or generally *unchristened*—in 1792 mostly recovered their old names after the Terror, subsequent changes have frequently been more lasting. There are, however, concordances to these alterations, whereas no concordance exists as to house-numbering, and even directories are here of little assistance, for they chiefly give shopkeepers. Nor do tablets help us, except in the solitary case of Mirabeau. A tablet on 42 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin tells us that the great tribune died there, and he is known to have occupied the first floor with its three windows looking on the street. Lavoisier is known to have lived in what is now 17 boulevard de la Madeleine. The street bearing his name merely covers the site of the house occupied at a much later date by his widow. André Chénier, the poet, lived and was arrested at what is now 97 rue de Cléry, one of the smallest houses in Paris, with a frontage of only 8 feet, and an area of only 24 square metres. Madame Vigée-Lebrun, the artist, was a co-tenant, or rather the proprietor, for her husband had bought it in 1778 for his business of picture-dealer. Santerre, whose brewery (now 11 rue de Reuilly) Dr. Johnson visited with Thrale in 1775, lived at what is now 210 rue du faubourg St. Antoine. Hébert resided and had his printing-office in the Cour des Miracles, famous for the scene in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame*. The fish-market was then held there, and the house must be still standing, but is not traceable. Danton's house was demolished in 1867, when the boulevard St. Germain was extended. It was at the corner of the rue des Cordeliers and the Cour du Commerce. His statue now stands close by. The infamous shoemaker

Simon, the poor little Dauphin's persecutor, lived in a house opposite. Marat's house, also in the rue des Cordeliers, existed till 1876. Desmoulins lived on the third story of what is now 22 rue de l'Odéon, though the table^t is mistakenly placed elsewhere. Beaumarchais' house stood in the boulevard named after him. The small hôtel de la Providence, cul-de-sac St. Pierre, where Charlotte Corday lodged, has been traced by M. Lenôtre to 14 rue Hérold, which was recently demolished. 28 place Dauphiné, the upper floor looking out on the quai de l'Horloge, is the birthplace of Madame Roland, and she must have passed it on her way to execution. No. 12 rue Guénégaud represents the hôtel Britannique, where in 1791 she and her husband had a first-floor apartment.¹ The rue de la Harpe, their last Paris dwelling, has made way for the boulevard St. Michel. Her friend Helen Williams had an apartment in the rue du Bac, within easy distance, but we cannot tell which was the house.

Thomas Paine, on his arrival in Paris in the autumn of 1792, lodged in White's hôtel Philadelphie, passage des Petits Pères. That passage, constructed in 1779, led from the rue Notre Dame des Victoires to the monastery of the Petits Pères, or Austin friars. Starting from south to north, it turned midway at a right angle from west to east. The houses facing the east backed on the rue Vivienne, while those facing the south had the monastery grounds at the back. That part of the passage running from south to north is now a portion of the rue de la Banque, for in 1846 the opening, continued northwards to the Bourse, received that name, but part of this block of houses was demolished in 1900. These changes, coupled with several re-numberings of the houses, render it difficult to identify White's, which ceased in 1810 to be an hotel. In the spring of 1793, probably at the time when, by Danton's friendly advice, he ceased to attend the Convention, Paine went to lodge with Georget, a retired grocer, at 63 faubourg St. Denis. Sanson, the executioner,

¹ *Révolution Française*, April 1899.

was a fellow-lodger, and being able to speak English, once called on Paine to inquire whether he knew two young Englishmen who had been arrested. Sanson told Paine that he had read his "Rights of Man."¹ There must have then been two 63's, that on the east side in the section Nord, that on the west in the section Poissonnière, for a number then meant not the number of the house in a street, but the number in the section in which the street was situate. Now both the sections just named began their numbers at the southern extremity of the faubourg St. Denis. Georget's 63 was on the east side, in section Nord, as proved by the interference of that section with the fruit-garden, hereafter noticed.² A building in the rear of the present No. 144, abutting on the Eastern Railway Company's office, seems to correspond with the situation and with Paine's description, or the house may have been demolished to make room for that office.³ Whenever he went into Paris, Paine had thus to pass St. Lazare prison, which was full of political "suspects." A little lower down on his route there existed till 1896, at the entrance to the Cour des Petites Écuries, the old porter's lodge of the royal stables, a low dingy building now superseded by a lofty modern house. The "Cour," a line of houses on each side evidently erected early in this century, marks the avenue or passage which led to the stables, an instance of builders' fondness for the line of least resistance. Paine, who must have daily passed that lodge, may also have been familiar with what is now the smallest house in Paris, 39 rue du Château d'Eau. Erected about 1780 in what was then called the rue Neuve St. Nicolas, it is only 10 feet wide, and has of course but a single room on each of its three floors. It stands on a narrow strip of ground projecting from the much larger space occupied by 66 faubourg St. Martin, by which street it has a second entrance. It is curious

¹ Conway, Works of Paine, iii. 317.

² See p. 338

³ See Dr. Moncure D. Conway's account of this and of Paine's other residences in the *Athenæum*, April 1, 1899.

to find the irregular shapes of suburban garden-plots perpetuated in this way.

On his release from captivity in November 1794 Paine enjoyed for eighteen months the hospitality of Monroe, the American ambassador to whom he owed his release. Monroe was for a short time staying at the hôtel des Étrangers, afterwards hôtel de Castille, and now the printing-office of the *Temps* newspaper, in the rue de Richelieu; but he afterwards purchased the pavillon de la Buxière, at the north-east corner of the rue de Clichy. This had spacious grounds extending to the rue Blanche at the back, and to what is now the rue de Moncey on the south.¹ The Tivoli public gardens, on their removal from a site lower down the street and on the opposite side, appropriated in 1826 a portion of the grounds, and a debtors' prison was erected on another portion. Dwelling-houses and St. Louis' orphanage now stand on the site, but down to about 1860 the pavilion or detached cottage—wealthy residents liked to have a pavilion looking out on the street, and serving both for observation and privacy—still remained at the corner of the rue Moncey.² Paine probably composed or completed in that pavilion the second part of his "Age of Reason." A remnant of the grounds, still planted with trees, may be observed at 12 rue de Moncey. He next went to live with the printer Nicolas Bonneville at 4 rue du Théâtre Français (now rue de l'Odéon), but which was then No. 4 can only be guessed at. Of Robespierre's house I have spoken in another chapter.

It is curious in this connection to trace the successive systems of house-numbering. A deed of 1426 mentions two houses on the pont Notre Dame numbered XIII. and XIIIIL,³ but there is no proof that numbers existed anywhere else, nor even of their being retained when the bridge had to be rebuilt later on in that century. An ordinance of 1726, which for the first time prescribed

¹ See map in Jaillot, *Recherches sur Paris*, 1782.

² Lefeuvre, *Anciennes Maisons de Paris*, 1858-64.

³ *Bulletin Soc. Hist. de Paris*, 1878.

numbering, with the evident intention of arresting the growth of Paris by forbidding the erection of new houses, was almost a dead letter, nor were ordinances of 1740 and 1765 any better observed. The directory of that period shows a very partial numbering, probably confined to the houses of official personages. Shop-signs continued to be the general landmarks. An annual directory started in 1780 tried to facilitate matters for strangers by appending numbers to many houses, and these were accepted by the authorities. Aristocrats, however, according to Mercier, objected to their houses being numbered, as putting them on a level with ordinary citizens. In August 1791, as a preliminary to a census, numbering was for the first time systematically enforced, but strange as it may seem to us, each of the forty-eight sections numbered its houses separately and consecutively. Where the numbers began and what line they followed we do not even in general know. The principal streets being the boundaries of sections, there were instances of a long street being situated in six different sections, three on each side, and all six numbered independently. One street, indeed, was in no less than seventeen sections. A short street containing scarcely twenty houses might, by being taken last, have numbers as high as 2000. Hanrion¹ speaks of six sets of numbers in several streets and of going to three No. 42's before finding the house he wanted. The almanac of 1793, therefore, in giving the addresses of the members of the Convention, frequently gives no number, or helps the inquirer by stating that the house is near some public building or facing a certain side street. In 1797 the eighth arrondissement suggested that each entire street should have its separate numbering, but, apparently on the pattern of London or Philadelphia, it proposed that the numbers should begin at one end, be continued along that side of the street to the extremity, and then cross over and descend the other side. Thus in a street of 200 houses No. 1 might be at the north-east end, 100

¹ *Encore un Tableau de Paris*, an. 8.

at the south-east, 101 at the south-west, and 200 at the north-west. In June 1799 Sangrin, the lighting contractor, repeated the suggestion. In November 1800 Auguste Leblond, a professor of mathematics, read a paper at the Museum of Arts in which he advocated that one side of a street should have even and the other odd numbers, the proximity of the Seine serving as a starting-point for streets at a right-angle with it, and the east or higher point of the river for streets running parallel with it. He also suggested that every lamp should bear the number of the house nearest to it, and that a separate number should be assigned to every ten metres, whether comprising only part of a house or more than one house. The numbers would thus have indicated distances, for 65 faubourg St. Denis would have been 650 metres from the south end of the street. This would have had its conveniences, but obviously also the drawback of a large house having two or more numbers and of several small houses having only one number in common. In spite of the obvious superiority of Leblond's scheme, the plan of the eighth arrondissement was ordered in 1801 to be adopted. That order, however, remained almost a dead letter, for the directory of 1802-5 shows the retention of the sectional numbering. Here and there, at long intervals, two numbers are given, as for instance "10-120," the first being the new up-and-down-street number, and the second the sectional number, the name of the section being of course appended, for otherwise there would have been no clue to which part or side of a long street was meant. Several tablets of the names of streets affixed to street-corners, preserved at the musée Carnavalet, give the number of the section underneath, and at the north-west corner of the rue Poullétier, île St. Louis, there is still cut out in the stone "No. 1," the sectional number of 1791. Not till the 4th February 1805 was Leblond's scheme carried out, and not till 1823 was it extended to provincial towns. In Brussels the sectional system was in use as late as 1827, and at Amsterdam it

was still used in 1864. Once adopted in Paris, Leblond's principle was soon imitated, however, in foreign countries, and it is now of course almost universal. Prior to 1849, and again in that year, there was a rectification of the Paris numeration, the sub-numbers (*bis, ter, &c.*) being abolished, but the principle remained unaltered. These four numberings, however, render it difficult to identify a particular house. Possibly ratebooks at the hôtel de Ville would have furnished a concordance, but all the documents there were destroyed in 1871. Notaries' records, if accessible, might also furnish data, and occasionally on the sale of a house the former number is mentioned. We thus learn that 255 rue St. Honoré was formerly 363, and that 1446, where the Terrorist Vadier lived, became 288.

Does the reader desire to see not merely revolutionary sites but revolutionary relics? At the National Archives he will find famous documents and signatures in profusion, not to speak of the chair in which the wounded Robespierre sat at the Tuileries, and the tables and chairs of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Industrious antiquaries now use those chairs and tables while rummaging historical manuscripts. We see the firm but rather formal round-hand of Louis XVI., a firmness displayed in nothing else by the unfortunate monarch. His letter to the Assembly, left by him at the Tuileries on his departure for Varennes, is in a small neat hand, the ink much faded. His brother, the future Louis XVIII., had helped him to indite it. His letter to the Convention after his condemnation, asking permission to take leave of his family and prepare for death, shows no nervousness, nor does his will, which covers two closely written quarto pages, free from a single erasure. He had probably copied it from a draft. His two previous signatures show the same firmness, viz. a receipt for the documents delivered to him on the 15th December 1792 in preparation for his trial, and the signature to his defence, the text of which is in de Sèze's writing, the lines very close and not very easy

to read, here and there with corrections, as though the original draft had been thought sufficient by de Sèze to read from without a fair copy being made. Louis, however, whose signature resembled that of Louis XV., wrote a smaller and freer hand when not signing public documents; witness a list of invitations to a shooting-party issued by him in 1789. Marie Antoinette's writing, on the other hand, displays no character. It is a rather uneducated-looking, slovenly hand, no index whatever of her disposition. Her touching farewell letter to Princess Elizabeth, written at four o'clock on the morning of her execution on a sheet of very ordinary paper now yellow with age, so thin as to show the writing on the other page, is a very pathetic document, but is not striking as a piece of calligraphy. Fouquier-Tinville, instead of sending this letter to Princess Elizabeth, detained it, and after his execution it came into the possession of Courtois, a member of the Convention, who appropriated it, but in 1816 it was seized by the police. The Queen's intercepted letter to her brother, the Emperor Leopold, dated the 8th September 1791, is also of indifferent penmanship. At the Archives, too, are the signatures of the two poor little royal children to their interrogatory of September 1791 on the escape to Varennes. We likewise see Malesherbes' defence of Louis XVI., read before the Convention, and the record of the King's burial. A scrap of paper, very closely written, evidently in order to be secretly transmitted, in Monsieur's (Louis XVIII.'s) writing, bearing his initials and those of his brother the Comte d'Artois, was produced at the King's trial, having apparently been found in the iron cupboard of the Tuileries. Written in July 1791, just after the King's return from Varennes, and said to have been delivered by the Comte de Vergennes, it promised him every effort for his deliverance. We see, too, the Italian exercises of Princess Elizabeth. There are also the signatures of the captives of the Temple to the interrogatory of the 3rd September 1792 as to an attempt of their adherents to communicate with

them. The Queen's signature in this case is neat and firm. The poor little Dauphin, in letters resembling print, signs "Louis Charles Capet," his sister in a good girl's hand signs "Thérèse Capet," and their aunt subscribes herself "Elisabeth Capet."¹ How significant the acceptance of this surname, which the Jacobins had ridiculously imposed on the royal family! Never would Louis, despite all his indecision, nor Marie Antoinette, with the pride of Maria Theresa's daughter, have stooped to this humiliation. As for the Dauphin, the poor boy was coerced into confessing that once, when Simon's back was turned, an attendant slipped a letter into the Queen's hand. There is his signature to the statement, and below it the rude, ill-spelt attestation of Simon, whom the guillotine eventually awaited.

Then there is the famous Tennis-court oath, with the bold autograph of Mirabeau and the small, neat, pedantic writing of Robespierre. The signatures to the oath are rather closely written in consecutive pages of a book. There is also the Marquis de Brézé's letter to Bailly, informing him that by royal orders the hall in which the Third Estate met was closed. There is the draft, in Mirabeau's writing, of a proposed address to the King on the 8th July 1789 to inform him of the critical situation. Then there is a list of the "victors of the Bastille," to the survivors of whom pensions were awarded in 1830. There is Cloots's letter to Barnave, censuring his duel with Cazalès, and one of his addresses as "orator of the human race." Signatures of leading Revolutionists are plentiful. We see Danton's bold round-hand with a flourish at the end. There exist early specimens, though not at the Archives, in which with evident desire to creep into aristocratic rank he writes D'Anton, and there is an intermediate stage,

¹ When interrogated, however, previous to trial, though answering in the affirmative the question whether she was Elisabeth Marie Capet, she signed herself simply "Elisabeth Marie," and when asked whether she had "conspired with the late tyrant," she had the dignity to reply "I do not know whom you mean by that term."

"Danton," before he adopts the plebeian Danton.¹ Robespierre, too, began by prefixing, as in the Tennis-court oath, a *de* to his name. A proposal made by him in the Assembly on the 20th April 1790 is likewise thus subscribed. His very last signature, a summons to Couthon to join him at the hôtel de Ville on the 9th Thermidor, is as free from tremor as signatures penned in calmer moments. So, too, are the first two letters of his signature, which he had just written when the supporters of the Convention forced their way into the hall and when he was either shot at or shot himself. This sheet of paper stained with his blood is in private hands. The Archives possess not only the documents found at Robespierre's lodgings,² but the contents of the younger Robespierre's pockets at the time of his suicide on the 10th Thermidor.³ These consist of about half-a-dozen letters, the key of a desk or drawer, the emblem of membership of the Convention—a thick round piece of cardboard, with a hole at the top so as to be strung on a watchguard—and a small bundle of assignats, amounting to sixteen francs, which under the depreciated currency perhaps represented about six shillings. Augustin Robespierre, together with Saint-Just, signed Maximilian's summons to Couthon to join him at the hôtel de Ville on the 9th Thermidor. His handwriting resembles his brother's. These Robespierre relics are extremely interesting.

There are specimens of Marat's apparently quick and legible but rather sprawling calligraphy, as in his denunciation of the Girondins; also of Guillotin's bold round-hand, of Condorcet's small neat signature, and of Lafayette's plain neat hand. There is Égalité's oath of fidelity to the Constitution, dated London, 13th February 1791, for Égalité was the last man against whom was enforced the royal prerogative of arbitrary banishment, and an ostensible mission to England thinly veiled the exile. He wrote a rather

¹ M. Aulard has given some curious facsimiles of these transitions. Roland and his wife in 1784 were unsuccessful applicants for *lettres de noblesse*, and Brissot, a native of Ouarville, styled himself M. de Warville.

² See p. 485.

³ F. 7, 4433.

formal, pedagogic hand, with an elaborate flourish after his name. Even when, the day before his execution, he signed his interrogatory, his hand was as firm as that of his judges. Three times, viz. at the foot of each page, had he to subscribe "L. P. Joseph Égalité," and the habit of adding a flourish adhered to him even when thus signing what was virtually a death-warrant. There is a notebook of Barnave's reflections, found among his confiscated papers. There is Thomas Paine's opinion on the trial of Louis XVI. It is in French, having evidently been translated for him, but the signature is his, a plain, rather large round-hand. Dated the 20th November 1792, he advocated that Louis should be brought to trial, and he added a fling at "Mr. George, elector of Hanover." Two months later Paine had the courage to vote in the minority of 334 against 387 against the sentence of death. There is the letter found in Roland's pocket in which he bade farewell to an earth on which his wife was about to be murdered. He did not wait, before stabbing himself on the highroad, to hear that she had actually been guillotined. The letter is in his usual steady hand. Stoicism, we see, was not wanting either among the Terrorists or their victims. There, too, is Madame Roland's writing, firm enough in a protest to the Convention against her second arrest, but rather trembling in the signature to her interrogatory, the day before her trial. What disillusion she had experienced since 1790, when she and her husband, watching the Revolution with enthusiasm from Lyons, subscribed six francs to a Rousseau monument! By the way, there is the letter of Thérèse Levasseur, thanking the Convention, in 1793, for its homage to Rousseau's memory. She wrote an illiterate hand, and spelt his name with either an *x* or a *z* at the end. There is Charlotte Corday's letter to Barbaroux, as also her farewell letter to her father, which ends by bidding him remember the lines of Corneille, her collateral ancestor—

"Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l'échafaud."¹

¹ Evidently a favourite quotation during the Terror. See p. 389.

"To-morrow at eight o'clock I am to be tried," she adds. There is no trace of nervousness in either of these letters. They bespeak the heroism of a woman who had formed herself on classical models. But the infamous Carrier, of the Nantes *noyades*, could also write a firm bold hand in a protest against the composition of the tribunal which was to try him, and Fouquier-Tinville's defence has a long flourish at the end. Monsters of different dye, for Carrier simply wallowed in blood, while Fouquier shed blood by wholesale simply to save his own worthless life, both, it must be owned, met death without fear and without remorse. There are some of the keys of the Bastille, as also keys made by Louis XVI. An iron chest constructed in 1790 for the plates from which assignats were printed, now contains the meagre diary of Louis XVI., or rather his record of shooting game.

The Musée Carnavalet, Madame de Sévigné's old house, likewise contains many revolutionary relics. There is Louis XVI.'s written order to his Swiss guards, on the 10th August 1792, to cease firing and to retire to their barracks. There is one of the gates of the Bastille, preserved till 1898 at St. Pélagie prison. There is one of the models of the Bastille, made by Palloy out of the stones of the fortress, and another model in plaster taken from the ruins. The ironwork and fragments of the doors of the Conciergerie are also preserved. There is a lock of Robespierre's hair, Marat's snuff-box, Saint-Just's watch, Desmoulins' inkstand. There is the chair in which the paralytic Couthon wheeled himself to the Convention. Strangely enough, it was originally used by the Comtesse d'Artois, Louis XVI.'s sister-in-law, at Versailles. Couthon's grand-daughter recently presented it to the museum. Another recent gift is the pocket-book in which Condorcet wrote his will before poisoning himself. There is a timepiece with two dials, the second showing decimal time, in accordance with the scheme for a ten hours day, each hour divided into 100 minutes, and each minute into 100 seconds. It was apparently constructed in 1791, for it has portraits of the King,

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Lafayette, and Bailly. If it ever worked it seems to have been long silent. There are also several decimal watches.¹ There are pikes with which the national guards were armed, *cartes de sûreté* issued by the sections and without which it was not safe to stir out at night, a banner which figured at the Federation of 1790, red caps worn by Jacobin heads long at rest, revolutionary packs of cards, with king and queen superseded by Hannibal and other emblems,² tablets posted up in the schools inscribed "The French people acknowledge the existence of a Supreme Being," one of the flags on the "altar of the country" where volunteers enlisted for military service in 1793, and one of the busts of Marat placed in all the sectional halls. Most of these busts were shattered after Thermidor. More curious than all is a small volume containing the Constitution of 1791, bound in human skin.

Other relics are in private hands. Desmoulins' farewell letter to his wife was offered for sale by a Paris autograph dealer in 1895. It had belonged to Matton, who befriended Adelaide Duplessis, the wife's sister, Adelaide living with him till her death in 1863 at Vervins. She is said to have refused an offer of marriage from Robespierre. The heart of the unfortunate Dauphin was from 1879 to 1895 in the possession of M. Prosper Deschamps, heir of Dr. Pelletan, son of the Dr. Pelletan who had attended the Dauphin in his last illness, who made the *post-mortem* examination, and who abstracted the heart. In 1814 the poor boy's sister, the Duchess of

¹ A decree of the 4th Frimaire, year 2, directed that there should be ten hours, from midnight to midnight, and that each hour should have 100 minutes and each minute 100 seconds. This was not, however, to be compulsory in legal documents till the 1st Vendémiaire following, and when that day arrived nobody took any notice of the decree. Yet Sellier published a diagram of a dial showing the concordance between the old and the new system. Noon was of course five o'clock, and midnight ten. Campe, in 1802, saw a decimal clock outside the Tuileries. In 1899 a bill was introduced into the French Chamber of Deputies for establishing decimal time, but of course it did not become law.

² Two lawyer's clerks, playing at cards, were arrested for speaking of "kings."

Angoulême, visited the Hôtel Dieu hospital on purpose to question Pelletan about it, for Châteaubriand had spoken of it in the Chamber of Peers; but the Hundred Days intervened. In 1816 some official inquiries were made, and Pelletan flattered himself with the prospect of receiving some recognition for the restitution of the relic; but both Louis XVIII. and Charles X., afraid probably of giving a stimulus to the discussion of the claims of the sham Dauphins, showed no inclination to accept it. Indeed Louis XVIII., naturally sceptical, is said to have doubted the authenticity of the remains of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, exhumed in 1815 and re-interred at St. Denis. The heart was temporarily in the charge of the Archbishop of Paris, and on his palace being sacked by the mob in 1831 it was found in a cupboard and sent to Pelletan's son. The Comte de Chambord made no answer to offers of it, but Don Carlos accepted it in 1895 and placed it in the Comte de Chambord's tomb.

The Dauphin's body was interred in the churchyard of St. Marguérite, which is now a garden. At the Restoration a search for it was instituted, but was abandoned. In 1846 workmen, while digging for some repairs, came upon a lead coffin containing bones. These were believed to be the Dauphin's, and the discovery was reported by two doctors to the Academy of Medicine. The coffin was closed up again and re-buried. In June 1894 the prefect of the Seine allowed a fresh search to be made. The coffin of 1846 was taken up, and on the lid was found inscribed "L . . . XVII.," but the medical experts pronounced the body to be of the stature of an adult, and the teeth to be those of a person more than twelve years of age, the milk teeth having all disappeared, while the wisdom teeth were on the point of cutting. Thus the age was from eighteen to twenty, and the height 5 ft. 7 in. These appearances were quite inconsistent with the remains of a child ten years old, like the Dauphin. The only point open to doubt is whether the skeleton found in 1846 was replaced or whether another was substituted for it.

Relics of other kinds are in existence. I am unable, indeed, to ascertain what became of the King's wedding-ring and silver watch-seal, which on the day of his execution his valet Cléry offered to the municipal commissaries at the Temple. The King had bidden him to deliver the ring to the Queen and to ask her forgiveness for his not having seen her that morning as had been arranged. Louis had been anxious to spare her the pain of a parting interview. The seal Cléry had been directed to give to the Dauphin. There were also four little packets folded in a bit of paper, containing the hair of the Queen, Princess Elizabeth, and the two royal children. These Cléry should have given to the Queen. Unable or afraid to execute the commission, he offered all these mementoes to the municipal commissaries, but they directed him to retain them pending an order from the Commune. Nothing more is heard of them. If Cléry retained them he probably presented them in 1814 to Louis's daughter, the Duchess of Angoulême. In any case he preserved other relics, for on the 10th March 1896, at Rouen, there was a sale of the effects of his grand-daughter, Madame Le Besnier, *née* Cléry de Gaillard. These included the shirt worn by the King the day before his death, an ink-stain on one of the wristbands evidently caused while he was writing his will; the knife used by Marie Antoinette at the Conciergerie, the point intentionally blunted; the hair of the King, Queen, their two children, Princess Elizabeth, and the *princesse de Lamballe*, and the Dauphin's coat and waistcoat. There were also the King's head-band, the napkin used by him on taking the communion on the morning of his execution, a key and lock ornament forged by him, Princess Elizabeth's head-dress, and the fragment of a beam of the Queen's cell at the Conciergerie. Altogether there were twenty-nine lots, which realised 19,694 francs. The King's shirt was knocked down for 2860 francs, and the Dauphin's jacket for 2050 francs.¹ The French Government was not a bidder,

¹ *France* (Paris newspaper), March 12, 1896; *Revue des Questions Historiques*, July 1896.

and most of the relics were purchased, as was believed, for the Duke of Parma.

Madame Le Besnier had inherited only a portion of her grandfather's heirlooms. Of the remainder nothing seems to be known.

CHAPTER II

DEPUTATIONS TO THE ASSEMBLIES

A Centenarian Serf—Cloots and his Cosmopolites—Americans—Paul Jones, Joel Barlow, Colonel Swan, &c.—Petitioners for Paine's Release—Reception of Monroe and other Ambassadors—Nantucket Whalers—More Quakers—Paoli—Mirabeau's Sister—Suppliants—Boys and Girls—A War Victim—Saltpetre—*Tu* versus *Vous*—Negroes—Singing Deputations—Masquerades—Goddess of Liberty

THE debates of the three Revolutionary Legislatures were from time to time enlivened by the reception of deputations of the most varied composition and with the most varied objects. These deputations, indeed, represent the entire gamut of human emotion. Laughter and tears, comedy and tragedy, buffoonery and pathos, rapture and anguish, philanthropy and hatred, prose and poetry, nay, even music, figure in the motley procession. Man is alternately the ape and the angel of Lord Beaconsfield's famous antithesis ; and such episodal characters are sometimes more interesting than the regular players.

The reception of these deputations, complimentary, suppliant, or coercive, but always a waste of time, was one of the causes of the sterility of the Assemblies ; yet the evil was so gradual and insidious that we can scarcely blame them for not having checked it. As early, indeed, as the 1st August 1789, when the National Assembly was still sitting at Versailles, there was a complaint that the preparation of the Constitution was thus delayed, and it was resolved that after the 8th no more deputations should be received ; but this good resolution was not acted upon.

One of the earliest of these side-scenes was the appearance of the Jura serf, Jean Jacob, born at St. Sorbin on the 10th October 1669. His daughter, who, born when he

was eighty, had always refused to leave him, and a male relative brought the blind and deaf veteran to Paris, and he was ushered into the hall, "to pay his respects to the Assembly which had released his country from the bonds of servitude." Serfdom had lingered on some ecclesiastical domains in remote corners of France, and these Jura serfs, though otherwise free men, could not bequeath their little property away from their lord—not even property outside his territory—without his permission. Any one, moreover, living on such domains for twelve months became a serf. Voltaire, with his instinctive sympathy for the oppressed, denounced this vestige of feudalism, which led in 1779 to a decree enfranchising the serfs on all royal lands, and recommending other proprietors to do likewise. The abbot of St. Claude, however, Jacob's lord, had refused to emancipate his serfs, and not till the 4th August 1789 was a clean sweep made of all these remnants of feudalism. Thereupon Jacob started for Paris, arrived on the 3rd October, was presented on the 11th to the King, from whom he had for five years, in common with other centenarians, received a pension of 200 francs, and appeared before the Assembly on the 23rd. Sillery, the complaisant husband of Madame de Genlis, tells us in his journal what passed:—

A venerable deputy of Mont Jura, aged 120, presented himself. As soon as he appeared all the members of the Assembly rose,¹ made him sit down, and told him to put on his hat. The President (Fréteau) read out his baptismal certificate, translated from the Latin. The Assembly opened a patriotic subscription for him.²

The old man entered on crutches, supported by his attendants, and was conducted to a chair in front of the President's desk. A deputy, whose name escaped the *Moniteur* reporter, remarked that nature had reserved Jacob *alias* Bailly to witness the regeneration of France

¹ This had been previously resolved upon, at the instance of the abbé Grégoire.

² KK. 645.

and the liberty of his country. Up to the age of 105 he had performed all the duties of a citizen. The King had seen and conversed with him, and had conferred a pension on him, but a collection among the deputies would increase the comfort of his remaining years, and would leave his family something by which to remember so eventful a day. A collection was thereupon made, but the President stated that Bourdon de la Crosnière, the author of a scheme of national education, was anxious to take the old man under his charge, so that his pupils might be trained to respect old age by waiting upon him, especially those whose fathers had perished at the capture of the Bastille. Viscount Mirabeau, "Barrel Mirabeau," as the corpulent man was called to distinguish him from his brother the famous orator, shrewdly exclaimed, "Do what you like for this old man, but leave him his freedom." Paris, he urged, evidently would not suit a centenarian accustomed to a rural life.¹ The President then told the old man that the Assembly were anxious not to tire him, and that he might withdraw. They hoped that he would long enjoy the spectacle of the complete freedom of his country.

The invitation of Bourdon, who had opened a school in St. Martin's priory (now the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers), does not seem to have been accepted. Escherny, who went to see the ex-serf, states that he professed to remember walking in Paris 102 years previously, and that he slept with his purse under his pillow for fear of robbery,

¹ Viscount Mirabeau little imagined that within ten months he would be an exile, and would be writing from Aix-la-Chapelle to the President of the Assembly:—

"Renewing and endorsing all the protests made and to be made against all acts and decrees tending to destroy the monarchy, overturn constitutional law, destroy or impair the sacred titles of property upon which rest both the rights of the King, the first gentleman of France (a title so dear to Francis I. and his august house), and the rights of the three Orders dependent on the monarchy and those of all the citizens of the realm, I notify and beg you to notify that the first act of liberty which I enjoy outside the realm is to resign the title and function which the members of the *noblesse* of Limousin did me the honour of confiding to me in electing me deputy for their order to the States General."

but that his daughter and kinsman substituted copper coins for the gold ones given him, and that they made much money out of him. His portrait was taken by Garnery, and visitors doubtless made a point of purchasing a copy. He died in Paris on the 29th January 1790.¹

Jacob represented emancipated serfs. John Baptist Cloots and his associates professed to represent enslaved mankind. On the evening of Saturday, the 19th June 1790, Cloots headed what he grandiloquently termed the *députation du genre humain*, and presented an address soliciting admission to the approaching Federation. In my "Glimpses of the French Revolution" I too hastily concluded that this document had not been preserved, and I consequently gave a list of the deputation derived from data partially erroneous. My only excuse is that no French writer had spoken of the manuscript as extant, not even Cloots's biographer Avenel, who might have been expected to discover everything discoverable on this culminating episode in his hero's life. The Museum of the National Archives, moreover, though exhibiting two documents of the same date—Noailles' motion for the abolition of liveries, and Lepelletier's for the abolition of titles—contains nothing on this deputation, though it shows the letter written by Cloots in August 1790, reprobating the Barnave-Cazalès duel, a much less characteristic document than Cloots's address. M. Tuetey, however, commissioned by the Paris municipality to prepare a *Répertoire des Sources manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution*, found the address among the mass of papers of the National Assembly at the Archives. Profiting by his research, I have had the satisfaction of inspecting this interesting document.² It is a sheet of foolscap, yellow with age but not soiled by wear, for it had probably lain untouched for a century when handled by M. Tuetey. The address, which is in Cloots's handwriting, occupies three pages and just turns over to page four. Then come the

¹ Escherny, *Tableaux de la Révolution ; Chronique de Paris*, February 1, 1790.

² C. 29, No. 378.

signatures, which with one exception are not in the same ink. Cloots had evidently drawn up the address at home, had affixed his own signature, and had even written at the bottom of the fourth page "signatures des commissaires." His followers, as we know from contemporary reports, accompanied him after the presentation to a committee room, where they appended their signatures. The names are mostly in two columns, as though the deputation began by signing one below another on the left of the page, and when that side was full had continued on the right side ; but the two columns, so to speak, are not always quite parallel, and there are some cases in which three signatures appear on what may be called a line.

Before giving the list, let us, in lieu of the dry official minute, read what Sillery entered into his journal of the Assembly on the 19th June 1790 :—

Then came a deputation composed of Chaldeans, Arabs, Russians, Poles, English, Swiss, Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Italians, Spaniards, Americans, Indians, Syrians, Brabanters, Liegers, Genevese, Sardinians, Grisoners, Sicilians ; and M. Cloots de Val-de-Grâce, a Prussian, delivered an address signed by thirty-five commissaires of the Committee of Foreigners of all nations. It was decreed, in accordance with their request, that at the General Federation they should, to the number of a thousand, be in a tent erected for them. The enthusiasm successively infecting the members of the Assembly, MM. de Lameth, Lambel, H——, and Lafayette proposed various motions by which it was resolved that the four chained figures at the foot of Louis XIV.'s statue in the place de Valois should be removed before the 14th July.¹

Here, then, is the *superbe discours*, as it was styled by Thomas Lindet, afterwards a constitutional bishop :—

The imposing collection of all flags of the French Empire about to be displayed on July 14 on the Champ de Mars, on the very spot where Julian trampled underfoot all prejudices, where Charlemagne was environed with all virtues—this civic solemnity will be the festival not merely of the French but of the human race. The trumpet which is sounding the resurrection of a great people

¹ KK. 645, p. 696.

has resounded in the four corners of the world, and the songs of gladness of a chorus of twenty-five millions of free men have awakened the peoples entombed in a long slavery. The wisdom of your decrees, the union of the sons of France—this enchanting picture gives great uneasiness to despots, and just hopes to enslaved nations. A grand idea has occurred to us also, and we venture to say it will be the complement to the great national celebration. A number of foreigners of all countries on the earth ask leave to post themselves within the Champ de Mars, and the cap of Liberty which they will raise with transports will be a pledge of the early deliverance of their unhappy fellow-citizens. Roman conquerors liked to drag conquered peoples fastened to their chariots. You, gentlemen, by the most honourable of contracts, will see in your procession free men whose country is in chains, but whose country will one day be free through the influence of your indomitable courage and your philosophic laws. Our yearnings and homage will be the bonds which will fasten us to your triumphant chariots. Never was an embassy more sacred. Our credentials are not written on parchment, but our mission is engraven in ineffaceable characters on the hearts of all men, and, thanks to the framers of the Declaration of Rights, those characters will no longer be unintelligible to tyrants. You have legitimately recognised that sovereignty rests in the people. Now the people are everywhere under the yoke of dictators who, in spite of your principles, style themselves sovereigns. Dictatorship is usurped, but sovereignty is inviolable, and the ambassadors of tyrants could not honour your august festival like most of us, whose mission is tacitly acknowledged by our countrymen, oppressed sovereigns. What a lesson for despots, what a consolation for unfortunate peoples, when we shall inform them that the first nation in Europe, by mustering its banners, has given us the signal of the happiness of France and of the two worlds! We shall await in respectful silence the result of your deliberations on a petition dictated to us by enthusiasm for universal liberty.

CLOOTS DU VAL-DE-GRÂCE.

ABBEMA.

GEVERS.

F. A. PERSOONS.

J. BOSSCHA.

W. BUYS.

DE WACKER VAN ZON.

DOM CHAVREK, Arabe.¹

OSIANDER JH.

B. COMTE DE BOETZELAER.

T. T. DE MANSVELT.

SALKIND HOURWITZ, Polonais.

PRICE.

SI LAMR' DE TRIPOULÉ.

J. J. RAAFF.

CHEVALIER.

¹ With Arab characters, apparently his name, appended.

DUMONT.	BOLDONI.
FIGALLE PÈRE.	Z. VAN STAPHORST.
A. DUMAS.	DE HEYDEN.
FIGALLE FILS.	PAGE.
J. PROCTER.	MONAKMETI DE TOUNISIE.
CASANOVA.	STAMATY.
N. C. WITTERT.	GOY. ¹
P. H. MARRON.	TOWNSEND.
SCHLUTER.	MARTENS.
CAZADOM CHAMMAS, Chaldéen.	BROWN.

The President, Baron de Menou, said :—

Gentlemen, you have proved to-day to the entire universe that the progress made by one nation in philosophy and in the knowledge of the rights of man belongs equally to all other nations. There are epochs in the *fasti* of the world which influence the welfare or misery of all parts of the globe, and France ventures to-day to flatter herself that the example just set by her will be followed by peoples who, appreciating liberty, will teach monarchs that their real greatness consists in commanding free men and in executing the laws, and that they can be happy only by ensuring the happiness of those who have chosen them for their rulers. Yes, gentlemen, France will feel honoured in admitting you to the civic festival the preparations for which have been ordered by the Assembly, but as the price of this benefit she thinks herself entitled to require of you a signal testimony of gratitude. After the august ceremony, return to the localities where you were born; tell your monarchs, your rulers, whatever name they bear, that if they are anxious to be remembered by the most distant posterity they have but to follow the example of Louis XVI., the restorer of French liberty. The National Assembly invites you to be present at the sitting.

Baron de Menou accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt, there married with Mahometan rites the daughter of the rich bath-proprietor at Rosetta, styled himself Abdallah Jacques Menou, took the command of the French army on Kléber's death, on returning to Europe with his wife and son became governor of Piedmont, and died in 1810. His son became secretary of the French legation in America, but was dismissed because in eighteen months he had not

¹ Blotted and nearly illegible.

sent a single despatch. He remained in America, living at Baltimore in straitened circumstances.

Taking Sillery's categories, probably furnished by Cloots himself, we may approximately classify these men thus : Chaldean, Chammas ; Arab, Chavrek ; Prussian, Cloots ; Pole, Hourwitz ; English, Price, Procter, Townsend, Brown ; Swiss, Dumont ; Germans, Goy, Osiander, Schluter ; Dutch, Abbema, Gevers, Staphorst, Heyden, Mansvelt ; Swede, Martens ; Italian, Casanova ; Spaniards, Pigalle and his son ; Americans, Chevalier, Page, A. Dumas ; Syrian, Si Lamr' ; Brabanters and Liegers, Persoons, Buys, De Wacker, Bosscha, Boetzlaer, Wittert ; Genevese, Marron ; Grisoner, Raaff ; Sicilian, Boldoni. It is impossible, however, to be precisely accurate as to the nationalities represented. Thus Sillery overlooks the Greek Stamaty, and the official minute, in specifying the nationalities, also ignores the Greeks, though it inserts Avignonais.

What is surprising is that we do not find on this deputation men hitherto supposed to have formed part of it, and indeed to have been next to Cloots its most prominent members. There is no Olavide, the victim of the Spanish Inquisition ; no Pigott, the adversary of hats and of bread ; no De Kock, father of the prolific novelist. How is it that they have been erroneously numbered among Cloots's supporters ? The anti-revolutionists, as we learn from the *Chronique de Paris* (June 24), tried to ridicule the deputation by publishing a pretended list with satirical notes. That list, unfortunately, is not discoverable, but it elicited on the 30th a letter from Cloots, in which, after acknowledging the unexpected moderation of the Right, and even of an ex-prelate, who politely wished to have the passage on Julian expunged, he thus answers the taunt that the deputation contained refugees :—

There were, indeed, Dutch, Brabant, and Swiss democrats. Our calumniators would apparently have blushed to appear at the bar with Aristides and Themistocles, with Olavide and Trenck, those illustrious victims of the Inquisition and despotism.

Desmoulins, who in his *Révolutions de Paris* exclaims : "Such a collection of peoples had not been seen since the Tower of Babel ; there were Roumanians and Romans, Greeks and Persians, Russians and Turks, English and Ethiopians, Swedes and Indians, Poles, Americans, Arabs, Moors, and Scandinavians," seems to have inferred from Cloots's letter that Trenck was present, whereas he was then in Hungary.¹ Avenel goes further. He speaks of thirty-six members, including Pio, Olavide, Trenck, Boetzaer, Langrock, Van de Pol, Staphorst, Capellen, Nyss, De Kock, Balsa, De Raet, Van de Stenne, Goy, Pigott, Chavan, and Chammas. Now of these seventeen only three were really present—Staphorst, Chavan (more properly Chavrek), and Chammas. He evidently misunderstood Cloots's reference to Olavide and Trenck, who were no more present than Aristides and Themistocles, and he put down at random the foreigners who were then or afterwards, from choice or necessity, in Paris. It is strange, indeed, that Olavide and Pigott were not present, for they were in Paris about that time. They may, however, have witnessed the festival, for there is of course no list of the thousand foreigners for whom Cloots secured admission. Among these was Lord Wycombe, son of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, for Dr. Price, writing to the duc de la Rochefoucault on the 2nd July says : "The Earl of Wycombe started last week for Paris. Several other friends of mine are also going to be present on the 14th."² Another of the English spectators was Captain William Skinner, who had served in the navy, had been captured by the Americans in the War of Independence, and after the peace of 1782 had settled at Paris. There he was imprisoned under a *lettre de cachet* at the instance of a man whom he had reproved for indecorous behaviour. He associated with prominent revolutionists, but by 1792 was

¹ In September 1792 he wrote from Hamburg to the Convention to express regret that the care of his eight children, and the fear of a third confiscation, prevented him from repairing to France (C. 238). He went thither, however, unconscious that the guillotine awaited him, in the winter of 1792.

² *Journal de la Société de 1789.*

horrified at their excesses, and returned to England. Refused readmission to active service in the navy, he largely supplemented his captain's half-pay by translations from the French and by editing or contributing to newspapers; but his mind became affected, and in 1799, at the age of thirty-nine, he committed suicide. He was a well-known frequenter of the Chapter coffee-house.¹

The signatures show no arrangement by nationality. After Cloots, indeed, come several Dutch or Flemings, and here and there we may suppose that two friends kept close together and signed one after the other, but the four or five Englishmen, whom we might have expected to be clannish, are intermixed with other nationalities. It is also disappointing to find so many men devoid of eminence that we cannot trace who they were nor what became of them.

Cloots might be passed over, his career being well known, but I have collected a few additional facts respecting him. The first revolutionist to discard his Christian name—in lieu of John Baptist he became Anacharsis—he challenged the abbé Fauchet in May 1791 to a public discussion on Christianity, a jury to decide; but Fauchet declined the invitation. On the 13th December 1791 he harangued the Assembly on the European coalition. In April 1792 he presented a patriotic gift. On the 12th August he introduced to the Assembly some Prussians who wished to join the French army. Admitted to French citizenship on the 26th August 1792—no other member of the deputation received that honour—he waited on the Assembly next day to take the oath, and to advocate a law against the tyrants.² When in September 1792 Seine-et-Oise had to elect twelve deputies to the Convention, Cloots came sixth on the list by 279 votes out of 452. He was also returned for Saone-et-Loire, but he “opted” for Seine-et-Oise on the ground of priority. He not unnaturally thought that his parliamentary functions exempted him from sentry duty as a National Guard, but the Lepelletier section took a different

¹ *Monthly Review*, 1799 and 1821.

² C. 179.

view. On the 30th November 1793 the sectional committee ordered that his default should be recorded and notified to him.¹ Sentry duty signified acting as watch from seven in the morning till seven the next morning. It was hardly reasonable to expect members of the Convention, which sat daily, sometimes till late at night, to perform such duties. Earlier in that month, moreover, Cloots had been president of the Jacobin Club. Speaking in the Convention on the 24th April 1793, he whimsically proposed the disuse of the word French and the substitution of German (*Germain*), which would gratify a great neighbouring nation and bring Germany into incorporation with France. So wild a proposal probably made Robespierre imagine that his atheism and cosmopolitanism were a cloak for overturning the Republic, and on the 12th December 1793, at the instance of Robespierre, who virulently attacked him, he was expelled from the Jacobin Club. He thereupon printed and widely distributed a reply to Robespierre, who, thus provoked into further action, induced the Public Safety Committee to recommend the exclusion of foreigners from the Convention. Barère proposed this on the 27th December, and it was agreed to; but next day Cloots boldly reappeared in the Convention, insisting that the measure was not retrospective. After a stormy scene the decree of expulsion was distinctly reaffirmed, and the same night the General Security Committee ordered his arrest. He was consigned to the Luxembourg.² He there found as room-mate his old friend Vincent, a leading member of the Cordeliers Club, who on the 2nd February was released. Vincent, immediately on his liberation, stirred up the club to agitate for the release of Cloots, but this agitation had the effect of the prisoner being transferred on the 7th March to St. Lazare, to remove him from the proximity of the club, and on the 20th he was

¹ F. 7, 2478.

² "There" (at the Luxembourg), says Helen Williams, "a friend of mine found him in daily controversy with Thomas Paine, who had just written the 'Age of Reason,' for his credulity in still indulging so many religious and political prejudices."

brought to trial, in company with Hébert and eighteen others.

He was indicted as "John Baptist, styling himself Anarcharis Cloots," aged thirty-eight. Among the witnesses were Sambat, a house-painter cohabiting with an English-woman, and a juror on the revolutionary tribunal, but not, of course, acting as such in this case; and Rose, aged forty, keeper of a restaurant in the rue Grange Batelière, where Arthur Dillon was alleged to have given sumptuous dinners. Three days were occupied in examining forty-four witnesses, but when on the fourth day a forty-fifth had given evidence, the judge asked the jury whether they were sufficiently "enlightened." They replied in the affirmative, whereupon, without hearing the witnesses for the defence, the judge summed up, and the jury returned their verdict of guilty.¹ Cloots met his fate with philosophic composure. On the morrow of his execution his effects were sealed, being left in the charge of his housekeeper, but on the 29th August 1794 the General Security Committee ordered the unsealing, reserving to themselves everything of interest, while his books and newspapers were to be presented to the Lepelletier section.² When the sections were abolished these must have disappeared. A box of his papers was restored on the 28th December 1795 to Alexandrine Ferdinandine de Dael, widow, who was perhaps his sister. He is said to have left an illegitimate daughter, who became the mother of a Parisian actress.

Let us now see who the Englishmen were. "Price," written in a small neat hand, would at first sight appear to be Dr. Richard Price, the Unitarian minister whom Cloots, when visiting England, was advised by Burke to go and hear; but there was a "Mr. Price," with whom Gouverneur Morris dined on the 27th May 1790, and this unknown Price must have been the man, for Dr. Price, in the letter already quoted, says:—

I can scarcely imagine a spectacle (the Federation) which would give me so much pleasure as this would do, and I should certainly

¹ W. 339.

² AF. ii. * 256.

have yielded to the solicitations of my friends to be among the spectators if my ill-health did not render me incapable of bearing the trouble and fatigue of the journey.

Price, however, on the 14th July 1790, ill-health notwithstanding, was prominent among the 652 members of the Revolution Society who celebrated the anniversary by a dinner in London. He died on the 19th April 1791. That Society, in acknowledging an address of condolence from Aix of the 16th November 1791, says: "He died rejoicing at the prospect which France had opened up to herself and the whole world, that righteousness, peace, and goodwill would be established on earth by the extension of freedom."

Procter was perhaps the editor of a London Opposition paper spoken of by Beaulieu. All we know is that he remained in or revisited Paris, for in October 1793 he was arrested with the other English as hostages for Toulon, and on the 3rd March 1794 the Piques section endorsed his petition to the General Security Committee for release.¹ In October 1794 Procter advertised that he taught the English *and American* languages—there had been no advertisements of lessons in foreign languages during the Terror—and he was still doing this in 1802.

Page was possibly Francis Page, secretary to the Aldgate Society of Friends of the People, which on the 12th November 1792, in a high-flown address to the Convention, greeted its members as "citizens of the universe, protectors of the great family of mankind."² He may, however, have been the St. Domingo delegate of that name who, on the 7th March 1794, was arrested and sent to the Luxembourg.

Townsend may have been the Rev. Joseph Townsend, who, in 1785, published an account of a visit to Spain. It could not have been Thomas Townsend, a barrister, for he sided with Burke against the Revolution. Brown was probably the inspector of manufactures who, in 1789,

¹ F. 7, 2475.

² C. 242.

extracted muriatic acid from sea-weed, and in 1790 made experiments with Milne's spinning-machine. But he may have been the editor of the *Sheffield Patriot*.

The Low Countries furnished by far the largest contingent to the deputation, for political commotions there had made numerous exiles. The rising at Liège had been a liberal movement, whereas that in Belgium had commenced as a reactionary opposition to Joseph II.'s reforms; but the Belgian insurgents had ultimately split into two parties, and this facilitated their defeat by the Emperor Leopold in 1790. Refugees of both sections took refuge in France, the liberals at Lille, the clericals at Douai.

Abbema, the most prominent of these refugees, had become a banker in Paris. He was one of the directors of the new French East India Company,¹ and had belonged to the moderate royalist Société de 1789. On the 19th January 1792, with Huber, Boetzlaer, Van Hoey, De Witt, and De Kock, he waited on the Assembly to solicit pecuniary assistance for the Dutch refugees. On the 12th November 1793 he was arrested, and his house searched. On the 23rd he informed the Lepelletier section that he owed £52,000 to Joseph Ewbank, an Englishman at Valenciennes. The debt was incurred prior to the siege of that town, and larger sums were due to him by London merchants, but, the mails being suspended, he could not ascertain how he really stood. He was evidently desirous of forestalling the discovery that he had had dealings with Englishmen, for eight days later his papers were examined in his presence. These measures were taken by the General Security Committee, but on the 26th December that body received information that the Public Safety Committee had confidence in Abbema, and desired to employ him. Thereupon, considering that he had been arrested simply because he was a banker, and hoping that his public services would justify his liberation, the General Security Committee ordered his release. He was again, however, arrested, this time by order of the Subsistence

¹ *Almanach Royal*, 1791.

(Food) Committee, and was at the Luxembourg from the 5th to the 20th March 1794. In 1806 the chevalier Abbema, doubtless the same man, was appointed a Councillor of State in Holland, and under Napoleon he was afterwards sub-prefect of Amsterdam.

Gevers was possibly the Hugo Gevers, a merchant at Dordrecht, to whom the Batavian patriots in Paris addressed despatches in 1794-95.¹ But he was more probably the P. Gevers who at the Hague in 1795 petitioned the Provisional Assembly for the impeachment of the Stattholder, William V., who had taken refuge in England.² He afterwards, in the Batavian Assembly, spoke on a proposal to solicit prayers for Consul Bonaparte.³ Buys, on New Year's Day 1797, delivered an address to the Patriotic Society of the Hague.⁴ Under Napoleon he was sub-prefect of Leyden. Bosscha may have been, under different spellings of the name, the Bosschart who was a member of the Provisional Government of Bruges; the "Bosc" who, on the 12th April 1792, presented the Assembly with some Dutch verses on the French constitution; and the Herman Bosscha, whose Latin poems were published at Deventer, in 1820, by his son Peter. Boetzlaer, as we have seen, was acquainted with Abbema, and was also a member of the Société de 1789. He may probably be identified with the Christophe Bazelaire, aged fifty-seven, who was imprisoned at the Carmelites from the 13th January to the 20th August 1794. Staphorst had been a banker at Amsterdam, and likewise a member of the Société de 1789. He accompanied Abbema to Berne in August 1794, on a mission from the Public Safety Committee. Cambon is reported to have said to them, when they remonstrated against French confiscation in Holland, "As you have no ecclesiastical property with which to pay the Revolution, we must revolutionise money-bags."

¹ A. F. ii. 31.

² *Moniteur*, xxvi. 305.

³ Gevers, page to Napoleon, and in 1814 an officer who distinguished himself in the defence of Schlettstadt, was probably his son.

⁴ *Moniteur*, xxviii. 516.

Frederic Heyden, a member of the Feuillants and 1789 clubs, was born in Prussia, but was of Dutch extraction. He fought for American independence, and against the Orange dynasty in Holland. On the creation of a German legion in France in September 1792 he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel, and on the flight of Dumouriez he was nominated commandant of Philippeville. In the spring of 1793 the legion was ordered to the Pyrenees. On arriving at Tours in May, the mob was incited against the twenty-four officers by two privates whom they had had to punish for insubordination. The officers were thrown into dungeons—Marceau, then a captain, was among them—and not till August, on an appeal to the Convention, were they released. On the 31st March 1794 Heyden was arrested in Paris by the Mail section, but was released after a fortnight by the General Security Committee. Jean Jacques Raaff, born at Rotterdam in 1760, joined the French army.

Augustus Osiander, probably a scion of a well-known family of German pastors, was imprisoned at the Carmelites from the 16th December 1793 to the 24th August 1794. In the directory of 1797 he figures as a commission-agent. Gaspar Goy was acquainted with Madame Roland, who interested herself in his illegitimate son by Thérèse Blanc, born in 1787. For twelve years a teacher of German at Versailles, he removed in 1791 to Paris. He published some German verses on the Bastille anniversary. In January 1792 he, or a homonym, was in London; for Biron, who had been sent thither to buy horses for the army, suggested that Goy should be employed in selling French brandy and wine in England, the profit to go towards the purchase of horses.¹ Goy was ultimately imprisoned at St. Pélagie and the Hôtel Dieu.

Dumont, if we have correctly classed him as a Swiss, was one of Mirabeau's speechmakers, was tutor to Lord Wycombe, and the disciple and friend of Jeremy Bentham. He was probably the Dumont who, from the galleries of

¹ Pallain, *Mission de Talleyrand à Londres*.

the Assembly, on the 4th February 1790, took the constitutional oath. Eventually disillusioned with the Revolution, he probably did not care to reveal his presence on the deputation.

Marron, though chaplain to the Dutch embassy until dismissed for his sympathy with the anti-Orange party, was a Genevese, the descendant of French Huguenot refugees. He attended Paul Jones's funeral on the 13th October 1791,¹ and he held a special service at St. Thomas du Louvre—the church assigned to the Protestants on their recovering toleration—to celebrate the completion of the Constitution. The Paris municipality attended it. He was, indeed, the first French Protestant minister at Paris, and in the autumn of 1793, when the churches were being stripped by the Jacobins, he offered the municipality his communion-plate. Imprisoned in the Terror, he was afterwards president of the Paris Protestant consistory, in which capacity he had several times to harangue and compliment Napoleon. In 1812 he spoke at the funeral of the Jewish rabbi Santzheim.

Zalkind Hourwitz, a Polish Jew, on first coming to Paris had dealt in old clothes, to maintain himself while devoting his nights to study.² In 1785 he was one of the three successful competitors—the abbé Grégoire and Thiery of Nancy were the others—for a prize offered by the Academy of Metz on the best means of rendering the Jews happier and more useful. His essay was a plea for Jewish emancipation. On the 13th May 1789 he was appointed an "interpreter" at the King's (now the National) Library, a post which seems to have involved teaching at the Collège de France and the care of books and manuscripts. In May 1791 he figured on a Jewish deputation to the Paris municipality in an application for civic rights. On the 28th April 1792 he subscribed fifty francs towards the war. Translator to Beaubourg section, he was sworn on the 22nd December 1793 not to divulge the contents of any Hebrew, Syriac, or other document entrusted to him.

¹ See pp. 80-81.

² Kahn, *Les Juifs à Paris dans la Révolution*.

In August 1797, when people were discussing what to do with the bronze horses brought from Venice, he suggested that they should be placed at the corners of the pont de la Concorde, and should be lit up by lamps at night. He became a teacher of languages, published in 1811 a system of shorthand, and died in the following year.

Dom Chavrek was also at the King's Library. The Revolution was not destined to benefit him. On the 28th April 1793 David Chavrek and Joseph Behenam (a Chaldean priest naturalised in France in 1776) complained to the Convention of the stoppage of their salaries. On the 3rd August following the Convention voted 1200 francs to Chavrek as compensation for the abolition of his office, and a pension of 1000 francs to Behenam. On the 1st November "Chavis" or "Chaviche," as his name appears in the minutes, presented the Convention with an Arab translation of its address to the French people, and he solicited further compensation, apparently without result. On the 5th April 1794, a prisoner at the Luxembourg, he petitioned the Public Safety Committee for release. He stated that he came to France in 1786 to translate oriental manuscripts at the Library, that he was unjustly dismissed by Roland in 1792, that he had married a Frenchwoman, by whom he had an infant six months old, and that the denunciation of a Jew, Pereyra, since guillotined, had led to his arrest.¹ On the 23rd October 1794, having again translated into Arabic an address by the Convention to the French people, he received "honourable mention," and the Education Committee was directed to consider his claim for arrears of pension. Chavrek was doubtless the man who, responding to President Menou, uttered some sentences in scarcely intelligible French on the new Constitution having ensured the happiness of the universe, whereupon the President rejoined :—

Arabia formerly gave Europe lessons in philosophy. It was she who, having preserved the deposit of the exact sciences, spread through the rest of the world the sublime knowledge of every

¹ F. 7, 3822.

department of mathematics. To-day France, wishing to pay the debt of Europe, gives you lessons in liberty, and exhorts you to propagate them in your own country.

As for the three other orientals, Si Lamr of Tripoli, Chammas the Chaldean, and Monakmeti of Tunis, nothing is known of them.

Let us turn to the Italians. Casanova may have been Arrighi de Casanova, a Corsican, who in 1774 married a cousin of Napoleon, or his son, the future General Arrighi, duc de Padoue. It seems unlikely, however, that a Corsican thus posed as a foreigner. It was more probably Francis, brother of the man famous for his adventures and his licentious memoirs, who seems to have been in 1792 in Bohemia. Francis, born in 1727, was a painter and engraver who long resided in Paris, and was apparently there in December 1790.¹ There were, however, two other brothers, artists, who were living at Turin in 1806. The abbé Boldoni was a teacher of Italian in Paris in 1787, if not earlier. He probably helped to capture the Bastille, for he was one of the militiamen of St. Antoine enlisted on the previous day. On the 10th November 1792 he published an article urging that France had nothing to fear from a war with England, for such a war would merely precipitate an English revolution. Up to 1820 he was still teaching Italian in one of the Paris colleges.

Constantine Stamati was a Greek of Constantinople. He came to Paris in 1787 to study medicine, but remained as agent or correspondent. He addressed news-letters or despatches to Kodrikas, secretary to Prince Michael Soutza, hospodar of Moldavia.² Among his friends in Paris were Daniel Philippides, who came to see the Revolution, and Dimos Stephanopolis, whom Bonaparte some years later despatched to Greece to sound the prospects of a rising against Turkey. Stamati deplored the excesses of the Revolution. In 1796 he was appointed French consul to the Danubian principalities, but Turkey refused to acknowledge him in that capacity. He afterwards headed a Greek

¹ *Moniteur*, ii. 292.

² These have been published by Jules Lair.

insurrectionary committee at Ancona. In 1798 he was French agent at Altona. In that year he translated for the Directory, into Greek, a manifesto urging distrust of Russia, and patience till the arrival of French aid. This was profusely circulated in Greece. He returned to Paris in 1799. From 1801 to 1817 he was French consul at Civita Vecchia. He probably died in the latter year.

Pigalle, whose nationality is uncertain, was probably the friend of Danton and member of the Luxembourg section revolutionary committee who was imprisoned, but released ten days after Robespierre's fall. He was apparently a sculptor and ironfounder.

We come lastly to the Americans, which term was oddly applied not only by Cloots but by general usage to Frenchmen who had been born or had lived in the New World. French citizens, however, should scarcely have figured on a deputation of foreigners, and Cloots was twitted with this anomaly. Chevalier was probably an American after this fashion; and there was a Chevalier who complained to the Convention of banishment from the isle of St. Pierre Miquelon. Thanks to his giving the initial of his Christian name, Dumas may be identified as the father of the great novelist. This Alexander the first, son of the Marquis Alexandre Antoine Davy de la Pailletterie by a negress, Marie Dumas, was born in St. Domingo in 1762. His father brought the mulatto child back with him to France, so that he never again saw his mother. He was brought up at Bordeaux, but in 1786, after a quarrel on account of the father having at seventy-four years of age married his housemaid, the son enlisted in the army under his mother's name of Dumas. In 1790 he was in garrison near Paris. Dumas served in Flanders, and writing to the Convention from Cambrai on the 4th December 1792, he enclosed six francs as his share of the proceeds of the sale of the carbines of twelve Tyrolese sharpshooters captured by him at the camp of Moulde. He signed his letter "Dumas, Américain."¹ In 1797 he earned the title of the

¹ C. 242.

"Horatius Cocles of the Tyrol," for he held the bridge of Brixen, killing eight and wounding two Austrians, and being himself covered with wounds, till comrades came to his relief. He possessed herculean strength, a quality which his son partially inherited. That son professed to remember being taken by his father to the palace Borghese (now the British embassy) to wait on Napoleon's sister, who presented the boy with an ornamental box of sweetmeats. He also professed to remember seeing his father tear out a thick iron bar embedded in a block of stone. But as Alexander the first died when his son was only three years and a half old, these recollections must be subject to discount. General Dumas accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, and on his way back, driven by a storm into a Neapolitan port, he was detained a prisoner for two years. He believed that an attempt was there made to poison him. He disliked Napoleon, who reciprocated the feeling. He died in 1807.

The United States, it will have been remarked, were not represented in Cloots's deputation. On the 10th July 1790 they presented an address of their own.¹ Probably drawn up by Joel Barlow, it is not in the handwriting of any of the signers, but apparently in that of a French translator. It is in these terms :—

Struck with admiration at the development and extension of their own principles in this happy country, the citizens of the United States of America now in Paris ardently solicit the favour of approaching the sacred altar of liberty, and of testifying to the National Assembly the warm gratitude and the profound respect merited by the fathers of a great people and the benefactors of the human race. The western star which is shedding its light from distant shores unites its rays with those of the glorious sun which is pouring floods of light on the French Empire, to enlighten, eventually, the universe. The force of truth is irresistible, and the celerity of its progress is beyond all calculation. We believed and we sincerely desired that the blessings of liberty would be one day appreciated; that nations would emerge from their lethargy, and would claim the rights of man with a voice that could not be

¹ The Legation took no part in it. Gouverneur Morris seems to have gone to England to be out of the way of the celebration.

stified. We believed that the luxury and passion of ruling would lose their illusory charms; that those chiefs, those kings, those gods of the earth, would renounce the idolatrous distinctions lavished upon them, in order to mingle with their fellow-citizens and rejoice at their happiness. We believed that religion would divest itself of its borrowed terrors, and would reject the murderous arms of intolerance and fanaticism, in order to take up the sceptre of peace. These events are now hastening on in a surprising manner, and we experience an inexpressible and till now unknown delight at finding ourselves in the presence of this venerable assembly of the heroes of humanity, who with so much success have fought in the field of truth and virtue. May the pleasing emotions of a satisfied conscience and the benedictions of a happy and grateful people be the reward of your generous efforts! May the patriot king who has so nobly sacrificed with you upon the altar of the country amply share the fruits! The monarch who, in beginning his career, diffused his blessings on distant regions was well worthy of exchanging the seductive lustre of arbitrary power for the love and gratitude of his fellow-citizens. In regenerated France he may well be called the first King of the French, but in the language of the universe he will be the first King of Men. We have but one desire: it is that you would kindly grant us the honour of attending the august ceremony which is to ensure for ever the happiness of France. When the French fought and shed their blood with us under the standard of liberty, they taught us to love it. Now that the establishment of the same principles brings us nearer together and tightens our bonds, we can find in our hearts only the pleasing sentiments of brothers and fellow-citizens. It is at the foot of the same altar where the representatives and citizen soldiers of a vast and powerful empire will pronounce the oath of fidelity to the nation, to the law, and to the King that we shall swear everlasting friendship to the French—yes, to all Frenchmen faithful to the principles which you have consecrated; for like you we cherish liberty, like you we love peace.

PAUL JONES.

SAMUEL BLACKDEN.

JAMES SWAN.

JOEL BARLOW.

FRANCIS L. TANEY.

ALEXANDER CONTEE.

BENJAMIN JARVIS.

G. HOWELL.

W. H. VERNON.

THOMAS APPLETON.

WILLIAM HARRISON.

JAMES ANDERSON.¹

¹ The names were given at the time in the *Moniteur*, but not quite in the correct order and with a mistake in one Christian name. I therefore take them from the original (C. 29, No. 377).

The President, the marquis de Bonnay,¹ in reply said :—

It was by helping you to conquer liberty that the French learned to understand and love it. The hands which went to burst your fetters were not made to wear them themselves ; but, more fortunate than you, it is our King himself, it is a patriot and citizen king, who has called us to the happiness which we are enjoying—that happiness which has cost us merely sacrifices, but which you paid for with torrents of blood. Two different paths have led us to the same goal. Courage broke your chains ; reason has made ours fall off. Through you liberty has founded its empire in the west, but in the east also it has innumerable subjects, and its throne now rests on the two worlds. The National Assembly receives with pleasing satisfaction the fraternal homage rendered by the citizens of the United States of America now present. May they ever call us brothers ! May Americans and French be only one people ! United in heart, united in principles, the National Assembly will see them with pleasure united in that national festival which is about to furnish a spectacle hitherto unknown in the universe. The National Assembly offers you the honours of the sitting.

John Paul Jones signs in a bold round hand. The son of a gardener named Paul at Kirkbean, Kirkcudbrightshire, details of his early life cannot be positively ascertained. Was he apprenticed at Whitehaven, Cumberland, and did he run away to sea ? Anyhow, according to the tradition at Fredericksburg, Virginia, he there joined, not, as is commonly stated, a brother, but an uncle, John Paul. The latter, like fellow Scots, Camerons and Gordons, in that town, had an agency for shipping tobacco and wheat to Glasgow. A tombstone in the Episcopal churchyard, inscribed "I. P.," is believed to mark his resting-place. Paul Jones is said to have next been mate on two slave-ships, and at Tobago he had an affair of which two different versions are given. The first is that he was charged with cruelty to one of the crew, a mulatto, and that though the charge was dismissed the man shortly afterwards died, whereupon the accusation

¹ He understood though he could not speak English, and had translated "Tristram Shandy."

was revived. The Fredericksburg tradition, which seems more probable, is that he killed a man in a street brawl, and had to take to flight. He went to North Carolina, where he was befriended by Willie Jones, a member of Congress who, like his brother Allen Jones, had been educated in England, at Eton. Willie Jones, according to the same tradition, sent the youth to school, for if he went to sea at twelve years of age he could have had little education, and about 1773—he was then twenty-seven, and what he had been doing in the few previous years is not clear—John Paul, out of gratitude to his benefactor, adopted the name of Jones.¹ Willie Jones is also said to have advised him to offer his services to Congress, and accordingly in 1775 he was appointed navy lieutenant. As a privateer he became, as is well known, a terror to British merchantmen and British ports. The French Archives contain a curious manuscript in which he gives, for the information of Louis XVI., a minute account of his exploits during the American War of Independence. He evidently wrote the narrative in English, and then had it translated into French and transcribed in a plain round hand.² The subjoined passages, relating to Lord Selkirk's plate, are, therefore, not in his own words, but have undergone a double translation. They are, however, curious as being his own unpublished version of an affair in which, as usual, he did not fail to sound a trumpet before him :—

Returning on board the *Ranger*, the wind being favourable, I sailed for the Scottish coast. My intention was to capture the Earl of Selkirk and detain him as a hostage agreeably to the plan of which I have already spoken [reprisals for the Act of Parliament of

¹ According, however, to his latest biographer, Mr. Buell, he took the name for the purpose of inheriting a plantation, which, by the process of adoption, was common in his time. Jones, he says, permanently settled in Virginia in March 1773. Prior to that date, as a seafaring man, he had never spent three months together ashore. He left the command of a ship called the *Two Friends* to settle on a plantation in Virginia on the south side of the Rappahannock.

² According to André, the translator, five copies were made, the other four being for the ministers, and André published a portion of it in 1798.

February 1776, declaring American prisoners traitors, pirates, and felons, and for the refusal of a cartel of exchange]. Accordingly the same day [23rd April 1778], about noon, having with me in a single boat only two officers and a small guard, I landed on that nobleman's estate. On landing I met some of the inhabitants, who, taking me for an Englishman, told me that Lord Selkirk was then in London, but that my lady, his wife, and several lady friends were at home. This made me resolve to return immediately to my boat and go back to the *Ranger*. This moderate conduct was not to the taste of my men, who were inclined to pillage, burn, and devastate all they could. Though this would have been making war after the fashion of the English, I did not think it fit to imitate them, especially on this occasion, considering what was due to a lady. It was necessary, however, to find some compromise to satisfy the cupidity of my crew, and to spare Lady Selkirk. I had only a moment for choice. What seemed to me best to reconcile everything was to order the two officers to go to the mansion with my guard, which was to remain outside under arms, while they alone entered. They were then politely to ask for the family plate, to stay only a few minutes, to take what was given them without demanding anything more, and return immediately afterwards without proceeding to any search. I was strictly obeyed. The plate was given up. Lady Selkirk told the officers several times over that she was very sensible of the moderation shown by me. She even wished to come to the beach, a mile from her mansion, to invite me to dine with her, but the officers begged her not to take the trouble to do this. . . . When circumstances forced me to allow my men to demand and take Lady Selkirk's plate, I was resolved on redeeming it at my own expense when it was sold, and on restoring it to that lady. On reaching Brest, therefore, my first care was to write her a touching letter, in which I explained the motives of my expedition and the cruel necessity in which the conduct of the English in America had placed me of inflicting retaliation. This letter was sent in an envelope addressed to the Postmaster-General in London, so that it might be shown to the King of England and his Ministers, and the Court of London was constrained to renounce the sanguinary Act of its Parliament, and to exchange these Americans, "traitors, pirates, and felons," for prisoners of war whom I had captured and brought to France. . . . During the war I found no means of returning to the Countess of Selkirk the family plate, which I had been forced to let my men carry off at the time of my expedition in Scotland in the *Ranger*.

I redeemed this plate from my men at a very high price. They fancied they could not make me pay too dearly for it. I had calculated on sending it from Lorient by sea when that place became an open port, but, finding no opportunity, I wrote to the Comte de Vergennes for permission to send the plate from Lorient to Calais by land. That Minister considered my letter, and sent it on to M. de Calonne, who not merely granted me the permission I desired, but wrote me a very complimentary letter. The plate was consequently forwarded to London, and delivered carriage free at the address given by the Earl of Selkirk. I received from that nobleman a letter full of gratitude for the delicacy of my conduct and the strict discipline of my men.

In an appendix Paul Jones gives in the original English his letters to and from Lord and Lady Selkirk, most, if not all, of which were published at the time of the restoration of the plate in 1784. They show how he assured Lady Selkirk, writing from Brest on the 8th of May 1778, that he "waged no war against the fair," but fully intended restitution; how Lord Selkirk sent a reply, which was stopped by the English Post-Office and returned to him; how Lord Selkirk then transmitted a message to the effect that he would accept the plate if restored by Congress or any public body, but could not think of being indebted to Paul Jones's private generosity; and how, after the restitution, Lord Selkirk assured Jones that his men stayed only a quarter of an hour in the butler's pantry while the butler was collecting the plate, and that they behaved very politely. In a letter to an Amsterdam dignitary, also appended, Paul Jones says, "I never had any obligation to Lord Selkirk, nor does he know me or mine except by character."¹

We can compare Paul Jones's account with that of Lady Selkirk, who, in a letter dated St. Mary's Isle, April 25, 1778, says :—

The visit we had on Thursday was by no means desirable, but I have the satisfaction to be able to assure my friend that I neither was alarmed at the time nor have suffered in the least degree since. They took pains to let themselves be understood a press-gang till

¹ *London Times*, March 26, 1894.

they had surrounded the house and the principal one had asked for me. I went down without scruple; they informed me what they were, and their order was to take my lord prisoner, or if he was absent to demand the plate. I was so sensible of the mercy it was that my lord was absent that I never hesitated about the other. I apprehended the consequence of a refusal or a search to be so much worse that I would not permit the servants to conceal, as they meant to do. I must confess I now regret that, as I might have saved some of the best, for it came afterwards to be firmly believed that they were much alarmed, but at the time that was not observed, and could not otherwise be learned, as nobody was permitted to leave the house.

Further on she says :—

I am sure I behaved at the time with the most perfect composure, I may say even indifference, and did what I then thought best. . . . The only real concern which I cannot remove is to think that my lord must be affected if he hears this before he hears from me.

She states, also, that—

The people really behaved very civilly. . . . The youngest of the officers was a civil-looking lad in American uniform, but it seems he had a blue greatcoat as a disguise. He meddled little. The other, dressed in blue, behaved civilly, but with so confident a look and so saucy a manner that I dare say he could have been very rough had he seen it necessary.¹

It may be added that Lord Selkirk's son, Lord Dare, met Jones by accident at Gouverneur Morris's house in Paris in 1791, and acknowledged the politeness shown by him as to the plate.²

Paul Jones's memoir was probably written in 1780, when he arrived in Paris and was presented to Louis XVI. Grimm says :—

He has been frantically applauded at all the theatres where he has appeared, particularly at the Opera. A singularity worthy of

¹ *Dumfries Courier*, March 1894.

² "Diary of Gouverneur Morris."

remark is that this brave corsair, who has given such manifold proofs of the firmest soul and the most resolute courage, is nevertheless the mildest and most susceptible of men, that he has composed many verses full of grace and sweetness, and that elegy and pastoral are the kind of poetry which seem to have the most attraction for him. The Nine Sisters' [Freemasons] lodge, of which he is a member, has engaged M. Houdon to make his bust. This portrait is a fresh masterpiece worthy of the chisel which seems destined to consecrate illustrious men of all kind to immortality.¹

The bust figured in the Salon of 1781. Jones entered the French service and continued in it till the peace of 1783. He then remained in Paris till 1787 or the beginning of 1788, for his name is in the directory of the latter year as living at 20 rue Royale. In 1788, after a visit to Denmark, he repaired to Russia and commanded a division in the battle in the Black Sea on the 7th June 1788, by which the Turkish fleet was destroyed. According to the prince of Nassau Siegen, who served under him, Paul Jones in these new surroundings was timorous and unfit for any chief command.² The prince also found him extremely jealous, and this failing had struck Chaumont, Franklin's host at Passy. Chaumont, the secret intermediary between Franklin and the French Government, equipped five of the vessels with which Jones terrified the British coasts, yet Jones was habitually jealous and suspicious of him, though he eventually apologised.³ Jones quarrelled with Prince Potemkin, the Russian naval commander, and on his return to St. Petersburg mortifications befell him. The Scotchmen in the Russian navy objected to serve under a man regarded by them as a renegade and pirate, the Russian officers disliked him as a foreign upstart, and a trap was laid for him, a girl being sent to his lodgings that she might charge him with an indecent assault. Ségur, the French envoy, who,

¹ Grimm, *Correspondance*, xii. 394.

² Aragon, *Un Paladin dans le 18^{ème} Siècle*.

³ *Century Magazine*, March 1888.

as a fellow-member of the Order of Cincinnatus, had always befriended Jones, convinced the Empress of his innocence, and he was readmitted to the Court; but, thoroughly disgusted, he obtained permission to quit Russia on a pension. Ineffectually offering his services to Sweden and Austria, he found his way back to Paris, though Gouverneur Morris, writing to him at Warsaw in November 1789, had dissuaded him from returning to a place "where neither pleasure nor advantage can be expected." According to the *Esprit des Gazettes* he went thither on purpose to see the Federation, and was recognised by a grenadier of St. Margaret, who led him in triumph to the district, and the latter took him under its protection.

Jones is heard of again on the 17th October 1790, when a pamphlet in his name was addressed to the people of Lyons. He reproached them with their apathy for the Revolution and the bad organisation of their National Guards. In a postscript he professes to have visited Lyons since writing the letter, and deploras the absence of cockades. But it strikes me that this was all written by Robert Pigott and published in Jones's name, doubtless with his consent, in order to carry more weight. There is no trace of Jones having visited Lyons in 1790, whereas Pigott was about that time a resident there. In February 1791 Jones consulted Gouverneur Morris on a scheme for an attack by Russia on British India, and he sent this through Grimm to the Empress Catherine; but her reply to Grimm was that he was quarrelsome, that he had been allowed two years' absence to escape a trial for rape, and that British India was too remote to stand for anything in a European conflict. Jones was thus left to vegetate on an apparently meagre pension, and notification of his appointment as American consul at Algiers is said to have arrived too late. He died of dropsy on the 18th July 1792 at 42 rue de Tournon, a narrow street close by St. Sulpice. Morris had called that morning to draw up his will, but on going again in

the afternoon, the Queen's physician, Vicq d'Azyr, accompanying him, found him dead. Morris was executor. The death was notified to the Assembly on the following day by Colonel Blackden, of whom we shall presently speak. He stated that application had been made (apparently by Jones's landlord) to Simonneau to bury him gratuitously under the regulation still in force for Protestant interments, but that Simonneau, indignant, had offered, if the expense was not otherwise defrayed, to bear it himself. Thereupon a deputy proposed, as a demonstration of religious liberty, that the Assembly should be represented at the funeral. This was agreed to, and here is the record of the interment:—

This day, the 20th of July 1792, year 4 of Liberty and 1 of Equality, at 8 o'clock in the evening, conformably to the decree of the National Assembly of yesterday, in presence of the deputation of the said Assembly, consisting of MM. Brun, president of the deputation of the said Assembly, Bravet, Cambon, Rouyer, Brival, Deydier, Gay Vernon, bishop of the department of Haute-Vienne, Chabot, episcopal vicar of the department of Loir-et-Cher, Carlier, Petit, Le Josne, Robouame, and of a deputation of the Consistory of the Protestants of Paris, consisting of MM. Marron, pastor,¹ Perreau, Bénard, Monquin, and Empaytaz, elders, there was buried in the cemetery of foreign Protestants, John Paul Jones, a native of England and citizen of the United States of America, commodore in the service of the said States, aged 45, deceased the 18th of this month at his residence situate rue de Tournon, No. 42, on account of dropsy on the chest, in the sentiments of the Protestant religion. The said burial effected in the presence of us, Pierre François Simonneau, king's commissary on this behalf, and commissary of police of section Ponceau, and in that of Mr. Samuel Blackden, colonel of dragoons in the service of the State of North Carolina, James C. Mountflorencia, formerly major in the service of the State of North Carolina, and citizen of the United States of America; Marie Jean Baptiste Benoist Beaupoil, French ex-officer, living at Paris, passage des Petits Pères, No. 7, and of Louis Nicolas Villemillot, officer commanding the detachment of gendarmerie

¹ Who delivered an address.

grenadiers, who escorted the deputation of the Assembly, and of others who have signed with us.

Brun, Gay Vernon, bishop and deputy, Deydier, deputy of the Ain, Rouyer, François Chabot, Bénard, Petit, deputy, J. C. Mountflorenc, Cambon fils aîné, Bravet, Beaupoil, P. H. Carlier, Duevesque, Lafontaine, Simonneau, Jacques Brival, Villeminot, Robouame, deputy, Marron, Perreau, Monquin, Empaytaz, R. Ghiselin, of Maryland, S. Blackden, Griffith, of Philadelphia.¹

Jones, as I have said, named Gouverneur Morris as his executor. His sister and universal legatee, Mrs. Janet Taylor, went over from Scotland to claim his property. She was accompanied, as I am informed, by Madame Gourbault (*née* Marion Stewart Lowden), his grand-daughter, by Mark Lowden, her brother-in-law, husband of her sister Mary Anne, and on the 17th March 1793 they petitioned the Convention for arrears of pay or pension due to Jones from the French Government. The claim was referred to a committee, and a fortnight later they presented a second petition, with what result does not appear.

The cemetery of foreign Protestants, in which Jones was buried, was a court and garden now covered by Nos. 41 to 47 of the rue des Écluses St. Martin.² In the summer of 1899 the American Government, at the instance of the Historical Society, instructed Mr. Vignaud, first secretary of the Paris Embassy, to ascertain the site, with a view, if possible, to the transfer of Jones's ashes to the United States, with which hope he had desired a leaden coffin, and at the time I write there is an idea of purchasing and demolishing the buildings so as to make a search. It is thought that Jones may have been buried in his uniform, the buttons of which might be discovered, or that the coffin had a metal plate inscribed with his name. The spot would eventually be converted into a public square and named after Jones.

Colonel Blackden, who had served in the War of

¹ *Correspondance Littéraire*, March 20, 1859; *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1890. The original document perished by the burning down of the Paris Hôtel de Ville in May 1871.

² *Bulletin Soc. Hist. de Protestantisme*, December 1899.

Independence, was intimate with Barlow. They lodged together in December 1792 at the hôtel Bretagne, rue Jacob, with their wives. The latter had as a companion, probably as an interpreter, Rachel Coope, wife of John Hurford Stone,¹ but they were deprived of her services in October 1793, when she was arrested with all the other English as hostages for Toulon.

Of James Swan I have found additional particulars to those given in my "Glimpses of the French Revolution." Born at Dunfermline in 1765, he went as a youth to America. In February 1790 he was consulted, along with Gouverneur Morris and Colonel Benjamin Walker, by the French Government respecting the tobacco monopoly. On the 4th December 1791 he made an offer to the Assembly, on behalf of a company of merchants, to buy up the French claims for repayment of advances made during the War of Independence, by paying a lump sum down in lieu of the instalments. The offer was referred to the Finance Committee, but nothing came of it. Colonel Smith, later on, made a similar proposal. Morris describes Swan as a schemer who had, perhaps in this affair, made an unauthorised use of his name. On the 15th January 1793 Swan contracted with the French Government to supply 30,000 barrels of pork, as also 100 hides, from Buenos Ayres or Brazil, and on the 19th September he received 160,000 francs in payment of merchandise.² On the 20th December 1793, in concert with Barlow, Blackden, and Meavenworth, he presented an address to Beaubourg section. On the 27th December he contracted with the Government to supply gunpowder, saltpetre, and potash. On the 24th February 1794 he obtained leave to export to America articles of luxury to the amount of 100,000 francs, and on the 14th March he undertook to supply twelve or fifteen cargoes of American corn and pork. His partners in the latter affair were Parker and Huger, apparently the Huger whose hospitality Lafayette had enjoyed on first landing in America, and whose son tried subsequently to

¹ See p. 356.

² A.F. ii. *47 ; A.F. iv. 26.

effect Lafayette's escape from Olmutz. On the 5th October 1794 he applied for passports for Dallard and Sonthonas, his clerks, who were to accompany him to America. Six days later he thus applied for a transfer of Sonthonas's passport to Schweizer,¹ his partner :—

It is still more necessary to the service [of the Republic] that he [Sonthonas] should not go with me, so as to ensure my arrival without the possibility of being arrested on account of having a Frenchman with me, who unhappily, by special instructions of the English Government to privateers, is subject to being arrested by the first vessel. Moreover, I shall pass on board by another name, in order to dupe the English.²

Swan and Schweizer soon disagreed. According to a biography of the latter, by Hess, the French Government required an agent to purchase corn in America. Picqué (probably Picquet, a member of the Convention) appointed Swan, but his want of reputation³ necessitated the choice of a man commanding confidence to act with him. Schweizer, then a banker at Zurich, was accordingly coupled with Swan. Swan professed to be satisfied with this arrangement, but was incensed at not having sole charge. He went to America, entrusted with a large sum of money for making purchases. Schweizer followed him thither six months afterwards, but found that Swan ignored him. It is, of course, impossible for us to judge of the merits of the quarrel. Hess alleges that, on the agency being closed in 1803, in which year Swan returned to Paris, 1,500,000 francs was declared due by France to Swan, and that Schweizer and Lubbert, who claimed their share, had to sue him, but that he preferred imprisonment to payment. Lubbert was a Hamburg merchant, who in 1793 contracted to supply wool to France. In the Paris directory of 1796 Dallard, Swan & Co. are described as bankers, but a few years later Swan's name disappears. All we know for certain is that the litigation between Swan and Lubbert

¹ Schweizer's stepmother was sister of Lavater, the physiognomist.

² A.F. ii. 31.

³ Monroe, in a letter of the 30th June 1795, describes him as "a corrupt, unprincipled rascal."

lasted twenty-two years. Hess gives an account of Swan's family, which must be taken subject to correction as that of an adversary. Swan, he says, married in 1776 Hepsy Clark, a handsome woman, strikingly resembling Marie Antoinette. Her father had left her a considerable sum, but her guardian had misappropriated a large portion of it. Swan's speculations in four years absorbed the rest of her dowry. They were not a harmonious pair, and the wife once threw a knife at her husband, but he coolly picked it up, returned it to her with a bow, and walked out of the room. Eventually there was a separation. Husband, wife, and son, Hess alleges, were alike unscrupulous, but the three daughters were charming. One, Hepsy, married a Dr. Howard, and Schweizer, though he had left a wife in Paris, was fond of flirting with her. Kitty married a merchant named Sergeant. Sarah, born in 1782, married in 1802 William Sullivan, a lawyer, and grandson of General John Sullivan, who ranks next to Washington, Greene, and Putnam in the War of Independence.

Swan's twenty-two years' imprisonment at St. Pélagie¹ is attributed by the *Droit* to his refusal to pay 625,640 francs, as he maintained that he owed only 7000 or 8000 francs. The Paris directory of 1828 describes him as a retired merchant, having a house at 61 rue de Richelieu, and this is apparently where his family resided. According to *Ausland*, a German review (1835), Swan was the only debtor of St. Pélagie who was allowed the use of the top balcony, which commanded a fine view of Paris. He would not, however, permit his cell to be decorated in any way. He possessed 5000 or 6000 francs a year, and on receiving instalments spent the money in feasting friends of both sexes. He had four mistresses, two of them sisters, both of whom had children by him. He liked the smell of blackberries, and actually bathed in their juice till the skin

¹ It was not his first imprisonment, for in August 1800 he had been incarcerated for eleven days in the Temple, apparently as a suspected spy. We owe to the record of this (F. 7, 3305) the date and place of his birth, and a description of him as having a high forehead, blue eyes, a well-shaped nose, a round chin, and chestnut hair.

seemed saturated, then wiped the juice partly off, put on a clean shirt, and went to bed. All this sounds apocryphal, in spite of the confirmation of the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 31, 1838), which states that the account was written by a lady who had known him. On the 18th July 1830 the litigation was still pending, and Swan had no expectation of release, for in a letter in indifferent French preserved in the archives of Nantes, addressed to a M. Gayard, he says :—

Please excuse my importunity in begging you to see M. de Belleyme [president of the civil tribunal of the Seine] and thank him for me if he will you what days he presides this week, when I wish my little affair to be heard. I call it little because it takes only a quarter of an hour, but it is serious for me, for it will bring me at once 750,000 francs. As it relates to my previous affair with Redern, M. de Belleyme understands it better than I do, and his justice will do the rest. With respect and esteem, your devoted servant,

JAMES SWAN, of Boston.

Lubbert was a Dutchman, and if he was so pertinacious a litigant it should be known that he had been ruined by Napoleon's continental blockade against England. He had married Theodora, sister of the famous singer, Garat, and in 1794 he had a son, Émile, born at Bordeaux. The uncle, Joseph Lubbert Garat, who, as Minister of Justice in 1793, read to Louis XVI. his sentence of death, and whom Napoleon made a count and a director of the Bank of France, obtained for his grand nephew, young Lubbert, on the father being ruined, the post of inspector of lotteries. The young man, who was a composer, became in 1827 director of the Paris Opera, and in 1828 inspector also of Court entertainments. The Revolution of 1830, which released his father's creditor, brought ill-luck to Émile Lubbert, for the new Government, to avoid chronic deficits at the Opera, adopted the system of leasing it. Thus losing his position, he became lessee of the Opéra Comique, but this proved disastrous. He accordingly went to Egypt, turned Mussulman, and was a sort of Clerk of the Revels,

amusement manager, to Mehemet Ali and Abbas Pasha. He died at Cairo in 1859.

Curiously enough, Swan, while in prison in 1812, was a suitor, together with Schweizer, against their former Paris agent Parker, and procured his arrest. For a few days they occupied adjoining cells at St. Pélagie, but Parker speedily obtained release.¹

Revolutions sometimes benefit captive debtors. Just as the debtors at La Force were set free on the 13th July 1789, so the debtors at St. Pélagie were liberated by the revolution of 1830. The story that Swan was on his way back to prison, voluntarily to resume captivity after a few days of liberty, when he dropped down dead in the street, must be dismissed as a legend. He died on the 18th March 1831, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* speaks mysteriously of that death as happening under circumstances which could not decently be mentioned. Nothing more is heard of a younger brother David, whom Swan is said to have sent for from Scotland to carry on Bible-printing and other speculations.

It is needless to give a sketch of Joel Barlow, army chaplain, barrister, emigration agent, ambassador, and poet to boot. It is sufficient to mention incidents of his life in Paris, some of which have escaped the notice of his biographers. In 1788 he went thither as agent for the Scioto colonisation scheme. He issued a glowing prospectus, and Brissot, though unacquainted with this new Eden, was induced to endorse it. The Paris office was besieged with applicants, enticed by the offer of a free passage, three years' provisions in return for draining and clearing, and at the end of that time the gift of fifty acres and a cow. Duval d'Espréménil and the marquis de Lezay Marnésia entered warmly into the scheme, thinking to create in America a refuge for impoverished royalists. About 500 emigrants went over to Gallipolis, as the settlement was termed, in 1791, but, being chiefly artisans from Paris and Lyons, they were indifferent pioneers, and they were rudely

¹ *Souvenirs de Berryer* (father of the Legitimist orator).

disillusioned. Indian attacks, malarial fever, and other evils assailed them. The company, moreover, whether from fraud or mismanagement, was in difficulties, and stopped the supply of rations. Its allegation was that it had been cheated by agents in France, who had run off to England with the money.¹ This would seem to refer to Barlow, but it would be unfair to condemn him on so vague a charge. He had, however, quitted Paris for London, leaving as his deputy William Playfair, brother of the eminent Scotch professor and geologist. Yvet, a teacher of languages, complained to the Palais Royal section in January 1791 that Playfair would neither refund his money nor give him information. Playfair, harassed by intending emigrants who had paid down money and could get no equivalent, also left for London in the autumn of 1792. Marnésia meanwhile, in despair, recrossed the Atlantic, but Congress consoled the ninety surviving or remaining emigrants by a grant of 24,000 acres on Little Sandy river. Barlow, as we shall see,² returned to Paris in November 1792 as co-delegate with John Frost of the London Corresponding Society, to present an address to the Convention. He also, through Paine, presented it with his pamphlet on the French constitution,³ whereupon Guyton Morveau proposed that citizenship should be conferred on him. This was referred to a committee. Meanwhile Barlow accompanied to Savoy Bishop Grégoire and the three other deputies sent thither by the Convention to arrange for the annexation of that province to France, and Grégoire, who was intimate with and had doubtless invited him, speaks of his having "summoned the Piedmontese to the enjoyment of liberty." Barlow, indeed, had published in French an "Address to the People of Piedmont on the advantages of the French Revolution." He published in 1795 the English text. On the 17th February 1793, while still "preaching liberty" in Savoy, he was declared a French citizen⁴ and was legally naturalised,

¹ J. S. C. Abbott, "History of Ohio."

² See p. 329.

³ Dated London, Sept. 26, 1792.

⁴ A.D. ii. 34.

a formality not apparently accomplished in the case of Cloots and Paine. Barlow's wife had remained in Paris. On the 16th May 1793, at the trial of General Miranda, Barlow, though not acquainted with him, testified that common friends in London highly esteemed him. Paine was likewise a witness for the defence, and Miranda was acquitted. Barlow, as we shall see,¹ was one of the eighteen Americans who vainly solicited Paine's release. He lodged for a time at White's hotel, and afterwards at the hôtel de Bretagne, rue Jacob, but enriched, as is said, by commercial speculations—not, let us hope, by the Scioto company—he purchased a fine house (now lately demolished) in the rue de Vaugirard, which became, and long continued to be, the American Legation. In 1795 he went as American consul to Algiers, and effected the release of American captives. Coming back to Paris, he spent eight years there in a private capacity. In October 1802 he and his wife attended a birthday dinner given at Paris to General Kosciusko, the Polish patriot. In that year he applied to the British embassy at Paris for a passport for England, but did not use it, having also an American one. In 1805 he returned to America, but in 1811 recrossed the Atlantic to be ambassador to France. In 1812, on his way to Wilna to sign a treaty with Napoleon, he became involved in the retreat of the French army, and died from cold and privation at Yarmisica.² According to Lewis Goldsmith, Barlow in 1802 styled Napoleon “the butcher of liberty, the greatest monster that Nature ever spewed.”³

Taney was probably a son of the eminent jurist, member of the Maryland House of Delegates, who was educated at St. Ouen and Bruges Catholic colleges. Contee, a Baltimore man, was probably the uncle or cousin of Alexander Contee Hanson (1749-1806), who was at one time secretary to Washington, and afterwards Chancellor of Maryland. Contee in March 1791 complained of having

¹ See p. 93.

² C. B. Todd, “Life of Barlow.”

³ *Anti-Gallican Monitor*, Jan. 17, 1813.

been robbed at a gaming-house of 146 louis. He was again in France, as a merchant at Bordeaux, in 1810. Jarvis, who had returned to New York, contracted on the 23rd February 1794 to supply France with 225 sheets of tin. Of Howell I can learn nothing.

William Henry Vernon, styled on account of his imposing appearance "Count" Vernon, came from Rhode Island. He was the spokesman of the deputation, and was a friend of Lafayette. In 1778 his father, William Vernon, of the Continental Navy Board, sent him to France, asking John Adams, a fellow-passenger, to act as a kind of guardian to him. Young Vernon, by Adams's advice, studied French grammar on the voyage, but remained at Bordeaux, while Adams went on to Paris. Samuel Meeke, afterwards a satellite of "Égalité," in an unpublished diary of 1782-83,¹ speaks of Vernon, then at Paris, as "an American beau, an agreeable man, who had been some years at Bordeaux." Vernon, who was then twenty-four years of age, was staying at the hôtel de Tours. On one occasion he took Meeke and his wife back to their hotel in his carriage, and "stayed and ate peaches with us; this was all our supper. In conversation, as it always happens, we found several of our acquaintances were his also." On a second call Vernon "talked much of the American war, which is the hinge of all their (Americans') conversations. It is true they have suffered much." Vernon, mistaken by the Paris mob for an aristocrat, was once in danger of strangulation at a lamp-post, but a French friend cleared up the mistake. The dispersion of art treasures in the Revolution enabled him to take back to America a fine collection of paintings. He died at Newport in 1833.

Thomas Appleton was a descendant of Samuel Appleton, who emigrated in 1635 from Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, to Ipswich, New England. His father, Nathaniel, was commissioner of loans for Massachusetts. He was doubtless one of the two Boston Appletons who went to France about 1790, expecting to make their fortune by

¹ T. 779.

working the process of a Scotch chemist, Pew or Pugh, for converting common oil into spermaceti.¹ He remained in Paris during the Terror, and was lodging with a schoolmaster in the Thermes de Julien section in the autumn of 1793 when his letters and other effects were sealed up. He was apparently mistaken for an Englishman, but on proving his nationality the seals were removed.² He was ultimately American consul at Leghorn, where he died, leaving no issue. His brother John settled at Calais, was appointed American consul there in 1792, and was the father of John James, American minister to Sweden 1827-1837, who died at Rennes, France, in 1864. John James's son, Monsieur Charles Louis Appleton, born at Rennes in 1846, is now professor of Roman law at Lyons, and his son, Monsieur John Appleton, also professor of the law faculty there, has dramatised in French Longfellow's "Evangeline," and has published a volume of poems.³ A cousin of Thomas Appleton lived at Havre during the Revolution, and purchased some crown lands there. In 1802-3 four Boston Appletons—Joseph, aged 43; John, 40; George William, 30; and Nathan, 20—went to Paris,⁴ and doubtless visited their kinsmen in France.

Of William Harrison I can learn nothing. James Anderson was probably the man who in 1804, in conjunction with Thomas Stone, took out a patent for a spinning-machine, and in 1810, in partnership with Coquerel and Legras, a patent for printing on porcelain.

It is disappointing to find only three out of these twelve Americans men of any celebrity. Even in those three cases, moreover, the celebrity is not entirely enviable. Jones was an adventurer, ready to serve any Government for pay. Barlow, a Jack-of-all-trades, perhaps master of none, certainly not of poetry, possibly enriched himself by the Scioto Land Company, which brought ruin and woe to others. Swan is famous only for his imprisonment.

¹ Todd, "Life of Barlow."

² F 7, 2511.

³ These two gentlemen have kindly furnished me information on their collateral ancestor.

⁴ F 7*, 2231.

It is still more disappointing to find that not one of the twelve committed to paper his experiences and impressions of the Revolution. We are thus left without any American eye-witness's account of that thrilling period.

More than three years elapsed before an American deputation again waited on the Convention. Thomas Paine's arrest was the occasion of it. Robespierre, in the notebook noticed hereafter,¹ had resolved, indeed, to propose to the Convention that Paine should be put on trial, but that entry was made in October 1793, and Robespierre, for reasons which can only be conjectured, must have changed his mind. It is the only indication of change of purpose to be gathered after the notebook. Paine, by the advice of Danton, had discontinued attending the Convention since the proscription of the Girondins at the end of May, and had prudently effaced himself, not even drawing his stipend of eighteen francs a day after the middle of September 1793; but on the 25th December Barère, on behalf of the Public Safety Committee, proposed to the Convention the exclusion of foreigners. This was specially aimed at Cloots, whom Robespierre had already expelled from the Jacobin club, but it applied also to Paine, whom Bourdon (de l'Oise) accused of intriguing with an ex-employé of the Foreign Office. The decree of August 1792 conferring citizenship on Cloots and Paine was thus virtually rescinded, and if they belonged to countries at war with France they became liable to arrest. This was clearly the case with Cloots, a Prussian subject; but was Paine an Englishman or an American? In England he was certainly regarded as a British subject, and had been outlawed as such, but in America he had undoubtedly acquired citizenship. The General Security Committee, however, on the 27th December 1793, ordered the arrest both of Cloots and Paine, consigning the execution of the order to two of its secretaries, Martin and Lasny, and to the Unity or Quatre Nations section, in which Cloots resided at the hôtel de Modène. Accordingly the secretaries

¹ See p. 485.

and two commissaries (Dodet and Gillet) went on the night of the 28th and first apprehended Cloots, whether at that hotel or in the rue de Ménars, where he seems to have kept a mistress, is not clear. They then at 3 A.M. repaired to White's hotel, passage des Petits Pères, which was still Paine's formal address, though he had removed, as we have seen, in the previous spring to 63 faubourg St. Denis. He happened, however, to be sleeping at White's that night, on account of dining there with some friends. The landlord showed them up to Paine's bedroom, and acted as interpreter. They understood Paine to say that his papers were at Barlow's, hôtel de la Grande Bretagne, in the rue Jacob. On taking Paine thither, however, Barlow explained that he had returned to the printer a proof of the first sheet of the "Age of Reason," and the commissaries, after a search, were satisfied that he had none of Paine's papers. Anyhow, Paine afterwards explained that his real residence was in the faubourg St. Denis, and there consequently the commissaries took him, Barlow accompanying them. They found nothing there to require sealing, though this formality was subsequently accomplished. Barlow had taken charge of the manuscript of the "Age of Reason," and they then completed their mission by conducting Paine to the Luxembourg.

Whether Cloots was carried about with Paine from White's to Barlow's, thence to the faubourg St. Denis, and finally to the Luxembourg, is not clear, but Bénéoit, the Luxembourg keeper, gave one receipt for the two prisoners. Paine says, in his third Letter to American Citizens, 1802 :—

There were two foreigners in the Convention, Anacharsis Cloots and myself. We were both put out of the Convention by the same vote, arrested by the same order, and carried to prison together the same night. . . . Joel Barlow was with us when we went to prison.¹

The secretaries and commissaries may possibly have taken both prisoners to the Luxembourg after the visit to

¹ Conway's "Writings of Paine," iii. 395.

Barlow's, when, requiring food and rest, they suspended proceedings from 7 till 11 A.M., and, leaving Cloots in prison, they may have taken Paine alone to the faubourg St. Denis and back; yet it is unlikely that Paine, on once entering the prison, was allowed to leave it.

Paine's arrest naturally made a stir among his fellow-Americans, and on the 27th January 1794 eighteen of them repaired to the Convention to solicit his release. They comprised William Jackson, of Philadelphia; J. [Joseph] Russell, of Boston; Peter Whiteside, of Philadelphia; Henry Johnson, of Boston; Thomas Carter, of Newbury Port; Samuel Cooper, of Philadelphia; Jno. Willett Billopp, of New York; Thomas Waters Griffith, of Baltimore; Thomas Ramsden, of Boston; Samuel P. Broome, of New York; A. Meavenworth, of Connecticut; Joel Barlow, of Connecticut; Michael Alcorn, of Philadelphia; M[ichael] O'Mealy, of Baltimore; John Macpherson, of Alexandria, Virginia; William Hoskins, of Boston; J. Gregorie, of Petersburg, Virginia; and Joseph Ingraham, of Boston.

How the deputation offered to be sureties for Paine's conduct in France; how President Vadier, one of the very men who had ordered his arrest, spoke of him in reply as an Englishman by birth and consequently liable to arrest, and as having misunderstood the French revolution; how Gouverneur Morris wished Paine to remain a prisoner in order to prevent his return to America; and how Paine, consequently, had to continue in captivity till Monroe superseded Morris, will be found fully narrated in Dr. Moncure Conway's exhaustive "Life and Works of Paine."¹ What should be noted is that Barlow is the only member of the first deputation who figures on the second. Paul Jones had died, and the others had evidently returned to America. Major Jackson, who drew up the petition and heads the second list, was doubtless the spokesman. According to Morris, who, however, disliked him, Jackson counted for success on his influence with the Jacobins, but if so he was disappointed. This was his third visit to

¹ Putnam's Sons: "Life," 2 vols.; "Works," 4 vols.

France, and he was perhaps fluent in the language. Having served in his youth in the War of Independence, he in 1781, at the age of twenty-one, accompanied Colonel John Laurens on his mission to Paris. On his return he was first aide-de-camp to Washington, and then Assistant Secretary of War under General Lincoln. After a second visit to Europe he practised law at Philadelphia. In 1787 he was secretary to the Convention which framed the constitution, and he was Washington's secretary from 1789 to 1793. He was now spending two years in the Old World. He returned home, to be surveyor of the port of Philadelphia from 1796 to 1801, editor of a newspaper from 1801 to 1815, and secretary of the Cincinnati Society from 1801 till his death in 1828. It was reported that by his advice Washington put an end to Morris's tenure of the Paris embassy, but Washington disclaimed having heard from him during his stay in Europe.

Jackson and Russell, as also Francis Willing and Joseph Thibaut, were for a time, in January 1794, prisoners at their lodgings, but the General Security Committee, ascertaining them to be irreproachable patriots, ordered their liberation. Jackson and his friends were probably the men of whom Rousselin, in a report to the Police Bureau on the 25th July 1794, says :—

Several persons believed to be Anglo-Americans have excited suspicion. They frequently meet at a café and restaurant in the faubourg Germain. They are lavish with their money. The man who seems to be their leader lives in the ci-devant Fossés de Monsieur-le-Prince, maison d'Harcourt.¹

Whiteside, a native of London, had witnessed a patent taken out there by Paine in 1788, and Paine had lost money by his bankruptcy. Whiteside continued to interest himself in Paine, and by informing him of Monroe's arrival facilitated his liberation. A partner with Robert Morris at Philadelphia, Whiteside died there in 1828. With Morris and William Whiteside, his brother, he sent out the first trading-ship from America to the East Indies.

¹ F. 7, 4437.

Of Johnson, a shipowner ultimately naturalised in France, a singular episode may be related. Billaud Varenne, the future Terrorist, in 1786 married Angelica Doye, a Westphalian, pensioned to the extent of 150 francs by the old monarchy as a convert to Catholicism. On his being sent to Cayenne in 1796, she vainly sought permission to join him. Left destitute, she obtained a divorce from Billaud in order to contract a platonic marriage with Johnson, who had befriended her. Johnson was in bad health, and she seems to have calculated that on his early death she could profit by his money for rejoining Billaud. Johnson, in fact, died in 1800, leaving her 500,000 francs.¹ Billaud in the following year heard of the divorce and re-marriage, but without any extenuating circumstances, whereupon he broke off all correspondence with her and refused to open her letters. In 1803 she married a rich French merchant, Cousin Duparc, and she died in 1815. Billaud survived her four years. He amused himself in exile by breeding parrots. Driven from Cayenne in 1815, he ended his days in St. Domingo, regretting to the last Danton and Robespierre.

Billopp was probably a son or nephew of Captain Christopher Billopp, of the British navy, who had a tract of land on Staten Island, which his daughter ultimately inherited.

Griffith, a young merchant—he must not be confused with Richard Griffith or Griffiths, a translator of English books in Paris—was sent to the Madelonnettes prison on the 18th October 1793, for, having lost at Havre Morris's certificate of his American citizenship, he was taken for an Englishman. Producing, however, a certificate from Havre municipality, he was liberated on the 8th January 1794. He is doubtless the Griffith who, in partnership with Nicklin (?), of Philadelphia, was owner of the *New Jersey*. That vessel, returning from China in 1797, was captured by a French cruiser and taken to Porto Rico, where General Hedonville condemned it as British, but allowed it to

¹ Bégis, "Billaud Varenne."

proceed to its destination on payment of caution money. The Prize Court at Paris revised the decision, and Nicklin and Griffith claimed repayment of the caution money out of the sum paid by America to France for Louisiana; but General Armstrong reduced their claim from £100,000 to £10,000, and it is not clear how the affair ended. Griffith, in 1798, published in French a pamphlet on American trade.

Broome was a New York merchant, in partnership with his brother John, president of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and lieutenant-governor of the State. He died in 1810, and a street in New York bears his name. Meavenworth was probably the attorney, styled by Lewis Goldsmith Leavenworth, who complained of a heavy bad debt due to him by the French Government. Alcorn, on the 20th February 1794, asked permission to return with his vessel and cargo to America, on condition of bringing back wheat. The Convention referred his application to the Public Safety and Subsistence Committees. O'Mealy was still, or again, in Paris in 1804, when he left for Fécamp.¹ Hoskins, like Griffith, had been a prisoner. Landing at Calais in January 1794 in company with three Frenchmen, he was sent in custody to Paris, and was at the Luxembourg from the 7th to the 25th January. He was still living in or revisiting Paris in 1802. He is probably the Bostonian whom a French fellow-prisoner describes as undertaking at La Force to master a savage mastiff kept by the jailor, which he did by plunging his fingers down its throat. Hoskins was still, or again, in Paris in 1803, and in 1810 another Hoskins, perhaps his son, twenty-five years of age, and a merchant at Amsterdam, was captured at sea by a Dunkirk cruiser on his way to England, but he represented that England was his easiest way to America, and he was released.

Gregorie was a merchant at Dunkirk, who, in October 1793, in concert with Henry Walter Livingstone, had

¹ B.B. 397. He had quitted the Franco-Irish legion after a duel with the adjutant-general, MacSheehy.

written from White's hotel to Robespierre, offering to import American wheat. In 1798 he published, anonymously, in Paris a pamphlet in reply to Fauchet's allegations that the United States were dependent on trade with England and might again become her colonies.¹ Ingraham, who had previously visited France in 1779, was perhaps the father of Joseph Holt Ingraham, the clergyman and author.

Although this deputation did not succeed in securing Paine's release, it probably, if there had been any danger of his trial, averted it. Indeed Morris, whatever his complicity in his detention, would manifestly and justly have been held responsible in America had Paine's life been sacrificed. By being kept, moreover, all along at the Luxembourg, Paine was placed on a different footing from Cloots, who, as we have seen, on account of the agitation in the adjacent Cordeliers club for his release, was transferred on the 7th March to St. Lazare. That club may unwittingly have done Paine a service by refusing on the 19th February his request for its intervention. He remained at the Luxembourg till his release on the 4th November 1794. On the 8th December the Convention, on the motion of Thibaudeau, resolved: "That the representative of the people, Thomas Payne,² having been declared a French citizen by a decree of the Legislative Assembly, is not comprised in the law which excludes foreigners from the National Convention." The Convention, curiously enough, thus readmitted Paine by declaring that the law which had expelled him did not apply to him. This was the very ground taken by the unfortunate Cloots in going to the Convention next day, as though nothing affecting him had been passed. Yet the law, if it did not apply to Paine and Cloots, applied to nobody.

¹ He was probably the Gregorie who in 1805 obtained a passport for Philadelphia (F. 7, 3750).

² This was all along the French way of spelling the name.

If these two American deputations were unofficial, there was one audience of a different character. The Convention, being the sole governing body, had to receive the credentials of newly-appointed foreign ministers. Gouverneur Morris's successor, Monroe, who, curiously enough, had voted in the Senate against Morris's appointment, arrived just after the fall of Robespierre. On the 14th August 1794 he wrote to the president of the Convention, Merlin of Douai, to ask when and by whom he would be received. The Convention itself seems to have been puzzled, and referred the matter to the Public Safety Committee, which reported that the Convention itself should receive Monroe, but without any of the absurd ceremonial of the monarchy, and that the president should give him the *accolade fraternelle*, in token of the friendship of the two nations. Accordingly on the following day Monroe with his staff, arriving in carriages requisitioned for the purpose by the Convention, entered amid loud plaudits and took his seat in front of the tribune. As he could not speak French, one of the secretaries of the Convention read a translation of his address and of the credentials from Washington. These credentials, however, were inaccurately addressed not to the Convention but to the Public Safety Committee. The president then welcomed him, and Monroe, being led up the steps, received the fraternal kiss amid enthusiastic plaudits. He then sat among the deputies, and it was resolved that an American and a French flag, intertwined, should be placed in the hall. Cheers were given, first for the French and then for the American republic.¹

On the 23rd August 1794 Reybaz, as minister for the republic of Geneva, had a similar reception. Merlin de Thionville, as president, spoke of the Genevese as descendants of William Tell, and the Genevese flag, it was resolved, should be hung up alongside the French and American colours. In November 1796, however, Reybaz received

¹ *Moniteur*, xxi. 496-500.

THE TAKING OF THE BASTILLE



twenty-four hours' notice to quit France. Again, on the 23rd April 1795 Baron de Staël, husband of the famous Madame de Staël, waited on the Convention as Swedish ambassador. He exchanged compliments with President Boissy d'Anglas, who gave him the republican *accolade* amid prolonged plaudits.¹ And on the 31st July 1795 Guerini, the Venetian ambassador, greeted with cheers for the two republics, appeared before the Convention, delivering a speech in which he boasted of the eleven centuries of liberty of Venice.

In singular contrast with these diplomatic receptions is the appearance of three Quakers, who, entering with their hats on their heads on the 10th February 1791, must have puzzled and amused the Assembly. One was a Frenchman, Jean de Marsillac, who, having adopted Quaker principles, had quitted the army, had graduated in medicine at Montpellier, and subsequently wrote a life of Penn and a treatise on gout.² The others were William Rotch and his son Benjamin, Nantucket whale-fishers, who, harassed and ruined by the war of American Independence, had settled in 1785 at Dunkirk, on promises of bounties, which were frustrated by the Revolution.³ They had conscientiously refused to fight in America; they now found themselves rendered liable both to oaths and to military service in France. They pleaded for exemption, and cited Pennsylvania in proof that a community could exist without war. Mirabeau was then President of the Assembly, and he had no need, like most of his predecessors and successors, of having notice of deputations. He was always ready with a reply, and indeed he was burning the candle of life at both ends in the two months which remained to him. He held out a promise of exemption from oaths, but he argued that self-defence was a duty,

¹ *Moniteur*, xxiv. 293.

² When Bancal went to London in 1791 he took with him a letter of introduction from Marsillac to Bevan, the Quaker banker.

³ *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. 1893.

that even Pennsylvanians must surely protect their families from Red Indians, that readiness for war ensured peace, and that a Quaker who allowed a fellow-man to be butchered by tyrants would be an accessory to the crime. The Quakers were silent, but probably not convinced. Their memorial was referred to the Constitution Committee, and nothing more is heard of it. On the 26th October 1793 Benjamin Rotch again waited on the Convention to complain that the Dunkirk municipality had arrested some of the Nantucket whalers' wives as being Englishwomen. "I desire," he said in his letter to the President, "to appear at the bar of the Convention to present the enclosed petition in favour of the wives of Americans. As I belong to the Society of Friends, known by the name of Quakers, I hope that thou wilt permit me to present myself in the costume of that society. I flatter myself that thou wilt admit me as soon as possible, because there is nothing more precious than liberty, the object of the petition. *Salut et fraternité.*" Rotch was apparently allowed to keep on his hat, and the Convention ordered the release of these prisoners.¹

The Quakers unconsciously set a precedent for two petitioners who, on the 20th December 1793, presented themselves with their hats, but Couthon and Robespierre objected to such incivility. Another deputy cited the precedent of 1791, but Robespierre rejoined that the exception proved the rule, and the rule was accordingly enforced. On the 15th September 1796, however, a hatted Quaker in the gallery of the Council of Elders was left unmolested. He may have been Marsillac.

This was not the last appearance of Quakers in the Legislative precincts, for on the 15th September 1798, at the sitting of the Council of Five Hundred, President Marbot announced the presence in the gallery of a Quaker who desired permission, on religious grounds, to

¹ C. 279. Another of these emigrants, Francis Coffyn, in 1795 succeeded his father as American vice-consul at Dunkirk. An intercepted letter in 1797 led to his arrest, but he was speedily released.

remain covered. The President remarked that such permission would demonstrate the respect of the Council for religious convictions. A member, however, objected that one exception from the standing orders would lead to others. The Council accordingly "passed to the order of the day"; in other words, it declined to consider the application, and the unfortunate Quaker probably withdrew.

These French Quakers, living at or near Congénies, in the Cévennes, were descendants of the Camisards or Huguenot visionaries. They had adopted principles resembling Quakerism, but had no knowledge of George Fox and his followers till 1785, when two English Quakers, Dr. Edward Long Fox and Thomas Bland, visited Paris in order to offer restitution to the owners of certain French vessels captured by British vessels belonging to Quakers. They then heard of the existence of the Cévennes community. This led to Marsillac being sent to London to form fraternal relations between the English Friends and their French co-religionists. A return visit was paid by Englishmen in 1788 to Congénies, at which the French community was induced to discard "hat-worship," the use of the second person plural, and bright-coloured garments. In 1791 Majolier went to England to study Quaker doctrines; in 1797 William Savary and David Sands visited Congénies. Etienne Grellet, a native of France, who had emigrated to America and there turned Quaker, took part in 1809 in preventing Paine from having a Quaker burial at New York. Grellet also visited the Cévennes in 1807, 1813, and 1820. This little community is now almost extinct.¹

Paoli, the Corsican liberator, was certainly the most, if not indeed the only, celebrated man who waited on the Assembly. On the 22nd April 1790 he headed a deputation of Corsicans, who had met him in Paris on his way home after twenty years' exile in England, and he declared this the happiest day of his life. France, he said, had loosed

¹ Jaulmes, *Quakers Français*, 1898.

the fetters of Corsica. His entire life having been an oath to liberty, this was tantamount to having sworn to the new French Constitution. It only remained for him to swear fidelity to the nation which had adopted him, and to the sovereign whom he acknowledged. President Bonnay, in response, complimented Paoli as "the hero and martyr of liberty."¹ On the 17th June 1790 the Société de 1789 gave him dinner, when the market-women presented bouquets to him, as also to Lafayette and to Talleyrand, "the only one of his class," they said, "who has remembered that we are all his brothers, and who has sacrificed his private interests to the public weal."² Three years later Paoli was summoned to the bar of the Convention to answer for his acts, but he wrote that his health did not allow him to take so long a journey, and in June the Convention, hoping he might yet be won over, rescinded the summons. Had he obeyed it he would in all probability have been guillotined.

On the legal principle of *cy-près*, Paoli leads us up to a woman not herself celebrated but having a celebrated father and brother. Among the suppliants for pecuniary aid was Charlotte Dusillant, *née* Mirabeau. On the 19th January 1794, appearing at the bar, she stated that her parents' pride and ambition forced her to become a nun, that though convents had been abolished she had not received the allowance voted to their former inmates, and that the annuity of 900 francs left her by her father had for two years been stopped. Her mother, moreover, was in prison. She begged for immediate help and the reference of her petition to the Liquidation Committee. A deputy vouched for her patriotism, assuring the Convention that intellectual vigour was the only point in which she resembled her brothers. (Mirabeau's secret relations with the Court had been discovered fourteen months before, and his remains had been ignominiously expelled from the Pantheon.) She had exhausted the liberality of her few friends, she was unable to obtain the certificate, without

¹ *Moniteur*, iv. 188.

² *Journal de la Société de 1789*.

which her pension as ex-nun was not payable, and if the Convention rejected her application it would be her sentence of death. The secret royalism of one brother and the professed royalism of the other apparently injured her cause, for on the 23rd February she reappeared, urging extreme poverty. This time the Convention voted her 600 francs as temporary assistance.¹ On the 10th August 1796 the Council of Five Hundred, on the petition of her husband and herself, adopted a decree enabling persons holding property jointly with *émigrés* to realise their share, exempt from the confiscation falling on the rest. She subsequently, having perhaps inherited family property, renounced her pension.

Mirabeau's sister naturally leads us to Rousseau's widow, Thérèse Levasseur, who had been allowed a pension of 1200 francs, increased on the ground of age and infirmity to 1500 francs. On the 25th September 1794 she appeared before the Convention, offering two manuscripts entrusted to her by Rousseau an hour before his death, with a label prescribing that they were not to be opened till 1801. She asked the Convention to take charge of them, and to decide whether they should be at once opened. The Education Committee reported next day that the label was not in Rousseau's writing, for it styled him "monsieur," a title which he would not have assumed, and that the manuscript was an autograph copy of the "Confessions," more complete than the published version, and available for any new edition, but that the variations were not sufficient to warrant immediate publication.

There were suppliants who pleaded not for themselves but for parents or benefactors, and it is sad to find that the Convention, at times so much given to sentimentality, turned a deaf ear to them. But a public body, owing to the diminution of the sense of individual responsibility, can show heartlessness of which its members separately could scarcely be capable. Thus on the 5th November 1793

¹ *Moniteur*, xix. 250, 554; *Gazette des Nouveaux Tribunaux*.

one of the three little children of Madeleine Françoise Kolly appeared, doubtless escorted by a friend, to plead for her mother's life, her father having been previously executed; but the Convention declined to grant a respite. She was the second female victim of the guillotine.¹ It is true that the Convention thereupon ordered measures to be taken to provide an institution for children thus rendered orphans, but nothing seems to have come of it.

The abbé Fénélon, prior of St. Cernin, collateral descendant, I believe, of the ancient prelate, had interested himself prior to the Revolution in Savoyard chimney-sweeps. He had protected them against tyrannical masters, had presented them with clothes, and given them religious and moral instruction. When he was incarcerated at the Luxembourg, the sweeps, on the 19th January 1794, waited on the Convention to plead for his liberation. They were ready to be bail for him, and even to be imprisoned in his stead, for they regarded him as a father. In any case they begged for a speedy report on his case. The petition was referred to the General Security Committee, by whom the arrest had been made.² It did not save Fénélon's life, possibly it hastened his trial and execution, for silence was safer than intercession. On the 19th July 1794 he perished with the Luxembourg monster batch—a man of eighty charged with conspiring to break out of prison and massacre the Convention! The three carts sent at eight in the morning to the Luxembourg to take the prisoners to the Conciergerie had been on the point of starting when the number was discovered to be one short. Fénélon had been forgotten, but was at once summoned. It was perhaps in expiation for his execution, as well as from admiration for Bishop Fénélon's works, that pensions were afterwards granted to the prelate's grand-nieces.

Among the Robespierrists condemned with Fouquier Tinville on the 6th May 1795 was Etienne Foucault, ex-judge

¹ See p. 402.

² *Moniteur*, xix. 250.

of the Revolutionary Tribunal. He had six children, one of whom, a boy ten years of age, was present, and learnt from a gendarme that his father was sentenced to death. Uttering piercing shrieks he hurried out of the court. Next morning he repaired to the Convention just as the sitting had commenced. Presenting himself at the bar he exclaimed, "My poor father!" and handed in a letter to the secretary, in which he begged for a respite. "My father," said the letter, "may have committed mistakes, but not crimes, and if he perishes his unfortunate wife will be reduced to poverty with her six children, mostly very young." President Vernier, endeavouring to console the boy, promised that the petition should be immediately sent to the Legislation Committee; but a respite did not rest with that body, and Foucault was executed that very morning.¹ It would certainly have been difficult to single him out for mercy because of his wife and children. Other terrorists might have urged the same plea.

It is pleasanter to read of Gabriel Jean Fouinat, a boy of fourteen, who, on the 15th November 1794, waited on the Convention to announce his acquittal and to denounce his persecutors. His father having been arrested at Tonnerre by Maure, a member of the Convention, the boy wrote a letter to another member exposing Maure's misdeeds, but he dropped the letter on the road. It was picked up by an informer, whereupon the boy was apprehended, and imprisoned for four months, his age, which would have entitled him to release, or to a milder punishment, being ignored. He was acquitted by the Revolutionary Tribunal. Maure, accused of other delinquencies, committed suicide in June 1795. Had Fouinat been tried before Thermidor he might, like two boys of the same age, Jean Fournier and Auguste Sainte Marie, have been sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment.

But children did not always appear as suppliants. Probably the youngest child who waited on the revolutionary Legislatures was an orphan named Henry, four

¹ *Moniteur*, xxiv. 402, 403, 407.

years of age, who, on the 2nd December 1792, said, "My hands are still too young to bear arms. I beg you to accept a small offering. Unable to give my blood to the country, let me at least consecrate to it my small savings, which I have put together in two gold louis (48 francs)." He asked the Convention to pass a law on adoption, for a friend wished to adopt him, and thousands of other unfortunates would benefit by such a law. The poor little boy must have been well drilled to learn this speech by heart. Then there is Euphrosyne de Vilaine, aged 8, who on the 29th April 1792, accompanied by her mother, presented herself to offer her contribution to the war. "Legislators," she said, "a child eight years of age comes to offer you her small savings for the soldiers of the country. This is the only service which her age and sex allow her at present to render; but on growing up she promises, not arms or money to combat the country's enemies, but an example of civism and virtue." Euphrosyne was applauded, but does not seem to have been kissed by the president. Her unusual Christian name suggests that her mother, even before the Revolution, was, like Madame Roland, an admirer of classical antiquity. Again, on the 22nd May 1792, girls of Grenelle section presented 80 francs for the war. Their spokesman, for they had a male escort, stated that they regretted their inability to join the army on the frontier, but that they could, if necessary, handle the pike in defence of their homes, and that they were resolved to have no husbands who were not soldiers of liberty.

On the 3rd July 1792 the collegians of Paris appeared at the bar to request that the money devoted to prizes should be given to soldiers' wives, while they would be content with oak wreaths. This was agreed to, with the proviso that a copy of the Constitution should accompany the wreath, and that the day after the distribution of the wreaths, the winners, together with their teachers, should be "admitted to the honours" of the sitting of

the Assembly ; that is to say, should have seats, not in the gallery like the public, but on the floor.

But these youthful orators did not invariably earn approval or admiration. On the 25th August 1793 a deputation of schoolmasters in favour of compulsory and gratuitous education was accompanied by some of their pupils. One of the latter delivered a speech in which he said that instead of boys being preached to in the name of a *soi-disant Dieu* they should be instructed in the principles of equality and the rights of man. The Convention, still nominally Catholic, had a thrill of indignation at the expression used by this boy spokesman, but doubtless put into his mouth by his master.¹

The fair sex lost no time in sharing in the right of deputations. On the 1st September 1789 twenty *citoyennes*, fourteen wives and six spinsters, presented themselves to offer their jewels to the country. They were greeted with plaudits, and La Luzerne, bishop of Langres, president, holding that French politeness forbade their being stationed at the bar, invited them to the foot of the tribune. An usher gave them his hand to help them down the steps, and chairs were arranged for them. They did not yet, however, venture on speechifying. Their mouthpiece, appropriately named Bouche, deputy for Aix, read for them an address in which they invoked the precedent of Roman matrons whose offerings enabled Camillus to fulfil his vow to Apollo in the capture of Veii, and they invited the Assembly to open a subscription of jewels and money towards meeting the deficit. The President warmly complimented them. "You will be more adorned," he said, "by your virtues and privations than by the jewels which you have just sacrificed to the country." The example thus set was followed on the 11th by a second group of ladies who modestly refrained from appearing, but sent in their jewels, while Bouche offered on behalf of two young ladies diamonds, bracelets,

¹ *Moniteur*, xvii. 492.

an emerald set in a "heart," and a louis d'or. Again, on the 16th, Mlle. Lucile Arthur, nine years of age, presented a gold thimble, a gold chain, and two louis. The ball thus set rolling acquired increased momentum, and patriotic contributions, in money and in kind, in which all classes participated, continued to flow in.

These gifts, indeed, would well deserve fuller notice. Children sent their pocket-money, women their ornaments and silver thimbles, men their decorations or the renunciation of their pensions. A cook sent 112 francs from her savings. A provincial laundress in March 1793 sent four shirts and four pairs of stockings for the army. A French hairdresser at Tunis forwarded 450 francs. A small proportion of the gifts may be attributed to ostentation or to fear of persecution, but the great bulk were evidently prompted by patriotism, especially as some were anonymous. In one case, indeed, political prisoners made a collection and sent the amount anonymously. The gifts slackened after Thermidor, and gradually ceased.

On the 8th April 1794 a young gunner named Gechter, who in battle had lost both hands and the lower part of the left arm, appeared before the Convention under singular circumstances. A public functionary had seen him near the Temple of Reason, *ci-devant* St. Roch, wearing a coat with red epaulettes. Pitying this victim of war, he had anonymously sent 5000 francs to the Convention to be given to the maimed soldier, of whose name or address he was ignorant. The gift having been recorded in the newspapers, Gechter, accompanied by an officer, presented himself to claim it. He stated that his father was a poor sans-culotte locksmith, and that the money would be very acceptable. President Amar invited him to mount up to his chair, extolled his bravery and patriotism, and handed over (if such a term can be applied in this case) the money. We may presume that the anonymous donor beheld the scene with tearful eyes from the gallery.

The extraction of saltpetre for gunpowder gave rise to some picturesque or grotesque deputations. On the 19th December 1793 citizens were invited to scrape the floors of their cellars, stables, and sheds in order to collect the saltpetre which they might contain, and on the 3rd February 1794 the result was seen in a procession of Paris sectionists, some bearing large copper vessels full of saltpetre, and others spades and picks for digging in search of it. A military band played at their head, and on their entry the hall echoed with plaudits. One of the spokesmen denounced the Georges and the Bourbons, the Pitts and Coburgs, who had too long debased mankind. Another exclaimed "Saltpetre! saltpetre! saltpetre! arms, and millions of soldiers until the heads of tyrants fall under the sword of the justice of peoples." President Vadier welcomed these "new Spartans," predicting that the burning lava of French artillery would soon devour proud Albion and that the "infamous Pitt" would be flung into the sea. The "Marseillaise" and the "Carmagnole" would be sung within the walls of London, and French sans-culottes would rest after their voyage on the woolsack at Westminster.

Again, on the 18th February, saucepans, spades, and picks, borne by men who sang as they entered, excited the enthusiasm of the Convention. Fifteen quintals of saltpetre, extracted by two thousand volunteers from Parisian cellars, were presented with the usual outpouring of oratory.

One of these saltpetre deputations included Madame Berryer, wife of a barrister and mother of the famous Legitimist orator. The execution of Louis XVI. had given her such a shock that for three months before her confinement (the infant did not live) and for six months after it, she was in a very critical condition. Yet to avoid suspicion of royalism she had to agree to head a procession of her section (Beaubourg) with a presentation of saltpetre. Bunches of holly from her garden were coated with saltpetre so as to glitter like diamonds, and

wearing a bouquet of these, she had to speechify and to be kissed by the President. At that very time she was giving refuge to a proscribed marquis, who ultimately effected his escape from France. Madame Berryer had also to subscribe to and attend outdoor "fraternal dinners."¹

The Jacobins not only abolished *monsieur* and *madame*, substituting *citoyen* and *citoyenne*, but adopted, like the Quakers, the second person singular. From the 24th September 1792 the *Moniteur*, in its reports of the Convention, dispensed with all titles. "Robespierre said"—so and so.² Madame Robert, the daughter of Kéralio, had in December 1790 advocated the use of *tu*, and this was universally employed in the Convention up to the end of 1794, so that when on the 9th Thermidor President Thuriot denied Robespierre a hearing, it was by exclaiming, "*Tu n'as pas la parole.*" It is evident, however, that outside the Convention and the clubs *vous* held its ground, for on the 30th November 1793 a deputation from various clubs asked that *tu* should be made compulsory. *Vous*, they urged, was ungrammatical and aristocratic. They obtained, however, nothing more than "honourable mention," one member of the Convention suggesting that *vous* was a fit shibboleth for aristocrats. Eleven days afterwards Bigard, indeed, proposed a decree on the subject, but Thuriot objected that the people were not ripe for it, and the motion was rejected.³ As late, however, as the 15th August 1798, the Paris authorities prohibited the use of *monsieur* and *madame* in plays not manifestly depicting pre-republican times,⁴ while Gomaire advocated the prohibition of *monsieur* and even of *sieur* in bills of exchange.

Several negro deputations waited on the Assemblies.

¹ Berryer, *Souvenirs*.

² In 1848-49 the official report of the Assembly dubbed every speaker *citoyen*.

³ *Moniteur*, xviii. 314, 402.

⁴ Even as late as July 1798 there was an order for expunging these terms from all plays, no matter to what period they referred.

On the 30th March 1792 eight negroes resident in France presented themselves to thank the Assembly for its fraternal intentions, and to assure it of their readiness to assist in the pacification of the colonies. On the 15th July 1793, Bellay, a negro, Mills, a mulatto, and Dufay, a white, all delegates from Martinique, were kissed by the President of the Convention, which next day decreed the abolition of slavery. Again, on the 20th March 1794, *citoyens et citoyennes de couleur* presented a flag inscribed with the record of the decree of emancipation. They wished this to be sent to the troops in the West Indies. Citoyenne Dubois asked permission, moreover, to sing some verses on emancipation, and this was granted her.

The Convention was so unlike any other Legislature, before or since, that it is scarcely surprising to find it not only harangued by deputations but thus sung to by them, nor was this a solitary instance. On the 5th July 1793 Vallière and two other actors sang the "Marseillaise," another patriotic song, and some verses glorifying the "Mountain"—that is, the Jacobins. The Convention ordered these two original compositions to be printed and sent to the departments.¹ Again, on the 31st October 1793, a deputation from Ris presented the spoils of the shrine of its patron saint Blaise, whose statue had given place to that of Brutus, and Ris being the name of a marquis they asked that the village might be called Brutus. They concluded by singing a patriotic hymn, and their request was granted. But Danton disliked these masquerades. When, on the 15th January 1794, a group of youths invited the Convention to a festival to be given by the Piques section, one of them singing patriotic verses composed by himself, Danton objected to the proposed insertion of the verses in the official report, that report being intended for laws in good prose, and the Education Committee should examine the verses. Dubouchet urged that patriotic songs had an electrifying effect in the sections and clubs, and should

¹ *Moniteur*, xix. 217.

be encouraged, but Danton rejoined that he had been unable to catch the sense of these verses, and could not therefore judge of their merits.² The song was accordingly referred to the committee, and of course nothing more was heard of it. Again, on the 16th March 1794, a spokesman of Grange Batelière section, after reading a petition, began singing some verses of his own composition, but Danton stopped him, insisting that the Convention should not be turned into a concert-room and that henceforth prose alone should be allowed at the bar. This was at once agreed to, and no more singing was heard till the 27th July 1795, when blind asylum children sang Joseph Chénier's verses on the fall of Robespierre. The Convention thenceforth was confined to prose, but on the trial of Babeuf and his fellow-anarchists at Vendôme in March 1797, Sophie Lapierre struck up a hymn, and the other prisoners joined until silenced.²

Among the most singular, if not most memorable, scenes of the Convention were the abjuration of priests and the procession of the Goddess of Liberty.³ On the 7th November 1793 Momoro, Chaumette, and other members of the Paris municipality escorted Gobel, constitutional bishop of Paris, and his vicars-general, who all renounced their clerical status. Gobel delivered a short speech, in which he declared that liberty and equality ought henceforth to be the only religion, that he and his companions consequently handed in their letters of ordination, and that he hoped this example would consolidate the reign of liberty and equality. "*Vive la République!*" he exclaimed, and deputies and spectators lustily repeated the cry. Gobel then advanced and laid on the altar of the country his clerical credentials, while vicar-general Denoux deposited three royal medals. President Charlier complimented them on their abjuration of error and their adoption of the religion of social and moral virtues, the

¹ *Moniteur*, xvii. 54.

² *Ibid.* xxviii. 628.

³ Not Goddess of Reason, as commonly stated.

only worship pleasing to the Supreme Being. By sacrificing the Gothic rags of superstition they had shown themselves worthy of the republic. Several deputies urged the President to embrace the Bishop of Paris. "There is no longer," replied Charlier, "a bishop, but a creature of reason, and I am going to embrace him." Thereupon Gobel, a cap of liberty on his head, was led up to the chair by Chaumette, and received the fraternal kiss. Four members of the Convention, Coupé, bishop Lindet, Jullien of Toulouse, a Protestant pastor, and bishop Gay-Vernon, next followed suit by renouncing their clerical status, and two spectators imitated their example. Later in the sitting a fifth deputy, bishop Lalande, also gave up his cross and ring, but bishop Grégoire, very courageously, if he was not, as some think, secretly encouraged by Robespierre, refused to abjure. Gobel was eventually guillotined, but the five clerical deputies passed unscathed through the Terror, and remained laymen for the rest of their lives.¹

Two days afterwards, Chabot, an ex-Franciscan who had married an ex-nun, explained that he had long ago burnt his certificate of ordination. On the 10th November those deputies who were not in the secret were surprised by the entrance of a band of musicians, followed by girls in white, with tricolour girdles and garlands of flowers on their heads. Next came—I quote the official minutes—"a woman, the faithful image of beauty." She wore the

¹ One of their lay colleagues, Du Bignon of Ille-et-Vilaine, apparently felt it necessary to join in the demonstration, and he accordingly handed in the following letter: "Stupid and deceitful priests have outraged nature and man in me. They have sullied me by ceremonies of a baptism which, for my children and myself, I renounce. I renounce also all the acts of their stupid teaching. I have issued from the hands of the Creator of all things. I acknowledge the sublimity of nature and of His work. I proscribe the impostures of that infamous priest of Rome who ought some day to lay his head on the scaffold, a punishment too mild for that ferocious monster who, in concert with kings, has caused all the misfortunes of mankind. I return to nature. I admit no other religion than that of liberty and equality. I will erect altars to the republic only. Greetings and fraternity." (C. 285.) Du Bignon translated the Odes of Horace into French verse. It would be curious to know whether, like some of his colleagues, he readopted monarchy and religion.

cap of liberty, a blue mantle was thrown over her shoulders, and in her right hand was a pike. The chair in which she was carried by four citizens was decked with oak leaves. "Her imposing and graceful attitude commanded respect and love." Deputies and spectators waved their hats at the sight, and shouted *Vive la République*. The Goddess was placed above the bar, in front of the president. Chaumette then informed the Convention that the procession came from Notre Dame, now the Temple of Reason, where "we have not offered sacrifice to vain images, inanimate idols. No, it is a masterpiece of Nature whom we have chosen to represent her, and this sacred image has inflamed all hearts. . . . The people have said 'No more priests, no more Gods, except those whom Nature offers us.'" President Laloi expressed the readiness of the Convention to join in so memorable a festival. A deputy proposed that the representative of Liberty should be placed alongside the president, and Chaumette accordingly led her up the *daïs*, when the president, as also the secretaries, gave her the fraternal kiss amidst loud acclamations. Laloi is described as one-eyed and ugly, so that it was a case of Beauty and the Beast. The goddess sat beside him for a moment till the Convention resolved to accompany the procession back to Notre Dame. There a piece called *Offrande de la Liberté*, which since the autumn of 1762 had had thirty or forty representations at the Opera, was performed. The original idea of the municipality had been to erect a statue of Liberty on the pedestal formerly occupied by one of the Virgin, but on second thoughts a living representative was preferred. The selection among the Opera ballet-dancers—for as Liberty had not to sing, but simply to pose, a singer was not necessary—must have depended on physical qualifications. Liberty seated herself on a pedestal or *daïs*, and the girls in white paid her homage. As played at the Opera the "Marseillaise" was sung, but at Notre Dame this was superseded by a composition by Gossec, set to words by Joseph Chénier—his brother,

the Chénier, was not yet in prison—which had been sung before the Convention on the previous day.¹

More public renunciations of priests followed, and the abolition of Catholic worship in Paris and other places naturally led to the confiscation of vestments and ornaments. On the 12th November Gravilliers section sent a troop of men decked in sacerdotal vestments and with crosses and banners. But for their being headed by a band which struck up a lively tune, they might have been taken for priests, but on reaching the bar of the Convention they threw off their vestments and proved to be national guards. *Vive la liberté, vive la République!* they shouted as they threw off their disguise, and stoles, chasubles, and dalmatics were flung into the air. A young boy, “whose ears had never heard falsehood, and who had learned nothing but the Declaration of Rights,” then read a short speech. Carried up to the president amid transports of enthusiasm, he was duly kissed, while the band played patriotic airs. Two priests accompanying the procession then deposited their certificates of ordination.² Earlier in the sitting the Luxembourg and Croix Rouge sections had handed in costly reliquaries and an array of communion plate and vestments from St. Paul and St. Sulpice, heaped up on twelve litters.

Next day deputations presented themselves from Vieux Corbeil, Chantilly, and other towns. “We come,” they said, “to offer the Convention the impressive spectacle of regenerate men who, no longer believing in sacerdotal juggleries, have shattered the worm-eaten idols of superstition. We bring with us their former priests, who abjure the mummeries of which they were the instruments. The

¹ See the *Révolution Française* for April 1899, which corrects misstatements as to the title “Goddess of Reason” and as to the real nature of the performance. It should, however, be remarked that in some of the sections women representing Reason were paraded through the streets. Collot d’Herbois, at the Jacobin club on the 14th May 1794, denounced these processions, stating that “Reason” was so lightly clad that the unfastening of a single pin would have turned her into Debauch, and that the ceremonies ended in drunken orgies.

² *Moniteur*, xviii. 420.

emblems and decorations of the Roman liturgy serve as patriotic disguises. Persons of all ages and both sexes had amused themselves by donning these mystic rags in order contemptuously to throw them off at the foot of the president's desk. They also offered precious metals which had adorned their churches in order to impose on the simple, but which would be far better employed in overturning tyrants." "The Convention," adds the minutes, "received with enthusiasm these trophies of philosophy and reason."¹ We need not credit Mercier's assertion that the deputations danced the Carmagnole, and that several deputies danced with girls in priestly vestments, for he was then in prison, and could only write from hearsay or imagination.

On the 20th November Quatre Nations section sent a procession of gunners clad in priestly vestments, with a troop of women in white with tricolour sashes, and a crowd of men attired in all the costly robes of St. Germain's church. Litters loaded with church plate brought up the rear. After singing and dancing, Dubois, the spokesman, described the event as the downfall of eighteen centuries of superstition and fanaticism, and as the introduction of an era of peace and fraternity. "We swear," he said, "to have no religion but reason, liberty, equality, and the republic." "We swear it," shouted the sham priests, monks, and nuns who had seated themselves on one side of the hall. A little boy then solicited a presidential kiss, which he might pass on to his schoolfellows, who, he promised, would when older imitate their elders and become the terror of tyrants should any by that time survive. The boy forbore taking up the time of the Convention by reciting the Declaration of Rights, but he requested the preparation of a republican catechism, which he was anxious also to learn by heart. Not only was the kiss accorded, but a letter was ordered to be sent to the boy's parents, to congratulate them on his excellent

¹ This was the signal for a multitude of provincial parishes to send their church plate to the Convention, to be melted down and sold.

training. The Butte des Moulins section next furnished a similar spectacle, the church plate of St. Roch being paraded in large baskets, and speeches and singing exciting great enthusiasm.¹

To append anything to these scenes would be an anti-climax. The curtain may fitly fall on the heartlessness and effusiveness, the generosity and ferocity, the pathos and masquerade, of the revolutionary Assemblies.

¹ *Moniteur*, xviii. 479-80.

CHAPTER III

THE PARIS COMMUNE

Records—Elections—Expulsions—Spectators—Deputations—Adoptions
—Civic Baptisms—Re-naming of Persons and Streets—Suppliants
—Bye-laws—Victualling—The Maximum—Civic Lent—Pet Animals
—Butchers and Bakers—Requisitions—Iconoclasm—Abjurations of
Priests and Nuns—Treatment of Royal Family—Simon and the
Dauphin—Guillotine Crowds—Cemeteries—Weddings—Fate of the
Commune.

BECAUSE the Convention sat in Paris we are apt to imagine that it possessed the chief authority in that city, and that its discussions present the chief interest. It was certainly the sole source of legislation, the sole arbiter of international relations, and the two governing committees, named after the bodies formed by American States during the struggle for independence, the Public Safety and General Security Committees (Salut Public and Sûreté Générale), were its delegates. But the Paris Commune or municipality was a rival, and on some critical occasions a superior authority, coercing the Convention, and in Thermidor endeavouring to supersede it. Yet the proceedings of this body have received little notice from historians, who are too much inclined to judge of the importance of events by the space devoted to them in the *Moniteur*. Now that paper gives undoubtedly the best reports of the Convention, it has been made easily accessible by a modern reprint, and it is the only newspaper of the time which has been completely indexed. But it is little more than a French *Hansard* or *Congressional Record*. It contains, indeed, a brief epitome of foreign news and occasional notices of the Commune or of the Jacobin club, but it is mainly a parliamentary report. Other newspapers, moreover, though furnishing less

copious reports of the Convention, nevertheless give these the principal place, and are almost if not quite as meagre in their notices of the Commune.

The minutes of that body, lodged of course at the hôtel de Ville, were destroyed with that building in 1871. Mortimer Ternaux had made some slight use of them, in his *Histoire de la Terreur*, and Taine would doubtless have made still greater use had his researches commenced before that date. This destruction is an irretrievable loss, but the Commune from the 12th June 1793 to the 7th March 1794 issued a daily broadside recording such of its deliberations as presented most interest. We can imagine how eagerly this placard, printed on very ordinary yellowish paper, was perused, inspiring terror in some and exultation in others. The scanty reports in the *Moniteur* and other newspapers were obviously extracted or summarised from the broadsides. We must regret that they were discontinued after the fall of Chaumette and Hébert, four months prior to that of Robespierre. There is also at the Paris National Library a collection of the notices, decrees, and proclamations of the Commune from August 1792 to February 1794. Strange to say, these two records, *Affiches de la Commune* and the collection of notices, have been overlooked by most historians.

It is necessary, before utilising these sources of information, to explain how and when the Commune was formed. It is needless to go back to the municipality of 1789, full printed minutes of which exist. Suffice it to say that though in fifteen months it had three priests—Fauchet, Bertolet, and Mulot—among its presidents, though it officially attended church in celebration of several revolutionary events, and though on the 15th January 1790 it ordered the prosecution of Marat for calumny, it showed in the germ that tendency to claim equality with the National Assembly which was subsequently so disastrous. It had every temptation, indeed, to such encroachments. Provincial deputations waited upon it as well as upon the Assembly, and there was also a profusion of oath-taking,

and exchange of compliments. It was moreover, like the Assembly, the recipient of a multitude of denunciations, which were carefully investigated and not unfrequently dismissed as unfounded. Just, too, as the Assembly, while in the throes of bringing forth a national constitution, was perpetually interrupted by deputations, offering congratulations or preferring grievances, so the Commune was similarly interrupted in the preparation of a municipal constitution to be submitted to the Assembly. It was often, moreover, solicited to use its good offices with the latter body. It was inundated with reports of all kinds from the forty-eight "districts," which preceded the sixty "sections," and it had sometimes to check those districts for abuse of power. In short, the Commune of 1789, with Bailly as mayor and with presidents periodically elected, was to the Commune of 1792 very much what the Assembly of 1789 was to the Convention. It represented the Revolution at its rose-water stage.

In December 1791 fresh elections were held, under the scheme passed by the National Assembly. The election was "by two degrees," that is to say, the sections chose delegates, and the latter then met and nominated the municipality. But already quiet men were beginning to hold aloof from politics. Out of 81,000 "primary" electors only 17,000 went to the poll, and so again when the delegates met, only 200 out of 946 attended. When Pétion was chosen mayor there was a still further falling off at the poll. Out of the 81,000 electors only 10,632 voted, 6728 of these carrying his election. In like manner Manuel was appointed procureur by 3770 votes, and out of 110,000 National Guards Hanriot, the future leader of the Thermidor rising, was on the 2nd July 1793 elected commandant by 9084 votes, his competitors mustering altogether 6095.

It is needless to describe the organisation of the insurrectionary Commune of the 10th August 1792 and the Provisional Commune of the 2nd December 1792. At elections of three municipal officers during that period

only 14,000, 10,000, and 7000 citizens polled. Paris municipal history, indeed, from 1791 to 1794 is a series of violations of the franchise, or of its exercise by a small minority. Let us pass on to the Jacobin Commune of the 19th August 1793, which lasted till the fall of Robespierre. No bye-elections were held, for the Public Safety Committee claimed the right both of expelling and of filling up vacancies, and during the eleven months of the existence of that Commune twenty members were expelled and six others guillotined, while in Thermidor ninety-six were guillotined. The *Almanach National* of 1794 shows the composition of the Commune. Pache was mayor, succeeding Chambord in February 1793 by virtue of his 11,881 votes out of 160,000 electors, but he was a mere figure-head. Lubin, the son of a butcher, as vice-president, generally acted in his absence, and in May 1794 he was superseded by Fleuriot-Lescot. Pierre Gaspard Chaumette, "procureur-syndic" or "agent national," was the ruling spirit—"Anaxagoras" Chaumette, as the ex-sailor and stump-orator had dubbed himself.¹ Réal, afterwards created a count by Napoleon, and Hébert, editor of the scurrilous *Père Duchesne*, were his deputies. There were 144 members, three elected by each section. Forty-eight of these, one from each section, were styled municipal officers, or administrators of the six departments—victualling, police, finance, public institutions (schools, hospitals, pawnshops, &c.), public works, and national or confiscated property. They formed the "bureau municipal." The remaining ninety-six were called "notables," and formed the "corps municipal," while the entire 144 composed the "General Council of the Commune." The bulk of them were

¹ The National Archives (T. 1611) contain an inventory of his papers together with a small book, leaves stitched together probably by his wife, full of entries in a neat, close handwriting of such proceedings of the Commune from the 10th October to the 3rd December 1794 as relate to priests of religion. There is also a vellum-covered book recording all his own public acts from his admission into the Cordeliers club in Sept. 1790 to his election as procureur. It ends thus boastfully: "Acclamations of the people, frantic joy on their part; I am loaded with benedictions and plaudits. Louis Capet, Louis Capet, I defy thee to have enjoyed when thou wast king as many of these as I."

tradesmen of all kinds—jewellers, perfumers, tailors, grocers, cabinetmakers, builders, masons, mercers, confectioners, painters, shoemakers, &c. There seem to have been no butchers or bakers, trades which the dearth of provisions subjected to strict supervision and rendered very unpopular. A few were retired tradesmen. There were also several lawyers, doctors, teachers, engravers, an architect, a sculptor, two engineers, two men of letters (Baudrais and Pierre Louis Paris, an Oratorian monk), and three ex-priests, Roux, Claude Bernard, and Pierre Bernard, all of whom had violent deaths.

The Commune itself, as well as the Public Safety Committee, exercised the right of expulsion. Antoine Gency, a cooper, was expelled on the 24th March 1794 on the charge of indecent conduct towards the female prisoners at the Salpêtrière and the English Benedictine convent. The chief charge, however, was a conversation in a wine-shop, where he had exclaimed against the Revolutionary Tribunal for acquitting nine Nancy prisoners whom he had been the means of arresting. He said that five of them ought to have been condemned, and that had there been a day's delay he should have adduced conclusive evidence. It was also alleged that he got served sooner and in larger quantities than ordinary customers at shops. Tried on the 7th May, he was, however, acquitted, and nine days afterwards was readmitted to the Commune, which shows that his seat had not meanwhile been filled up. He was executed in July as a Robespierrist.

The Commune, like the Convention, had its spectators, who were at times so uproarious that on the 24th March 1794 the galleries were asked to elect, at the opening of each sitting, two "censors" to keep order. A woman, moreover, a regular attendant, complained of her pocket being picked. She even asked the Commune to make good the loss, but it declined to set so questionable a precedent. Deputations also, as with the Convention, took up, if not much of its time, at least much of the space of its minutes, and delegates from the sections attended to

offer suggestions. Thus the Place Vendôme section on the 6th November 1793 invited the members to wear red caps, and this being at once agreed to, the deputation eagerly presented their own caps to the mayor and procureur, who donned them amid loud plaudits. Next day it was resolved that all the members should be "capped" at the public expense. When, however, ten days later a female deputation appeared with the same headgear, Chaumette sharply rebuked them. His objurgations had such an effect that the women instantly doffed the caps, substituting ordinary women's caps, which they must have had in reserve in their pockets. Chaumette had fixed ideas on the subjection of women, and missed no opportunity of calling them to order. On the 29th August 1793 fishwives, at his instance, were forbidden to force bouquets on people in the streets, or to push their way into houses on the plea of saluting newly elected functionaries, levying blackmail for such compliments. On the 29th October, moreover, the Commune sent delegates to the women's club to reprimand an attempt to enforce on market-women the wearing of the red cap. Compulsion in such matters was prohibited, and the club was reminded that a woman who kept at home to prepare her husband's meals, "mind" the children, and tidy the house, was acting as a good patriot equally with the clubbist.

We hear of the Cordeliers club offering the heart of Marat, but it was told that Marat belonged to the entire nation, and that the Commune had no right to dispose of a hair of his head. His heart was, however, buried under a tree in the club garden, "the true Pantheon," said Chaumette, "of the man of nature," and the rue des Cordeliers, where he had lived, became the rue Marat, the section likewise taking his name. When the Gravilliers section, on the 22nd June 1794, addressed a report to the Commune, styling it an "honourable" body, there were murmurs, and Payan (Chaumette's successor) denounced a term "disgraced by employment in the English House of Commons." A girl four years old, adopted by a printer,

offered to recite the Declaration of the Rights of Man, but in view of want of time, and of the recitation having been already made to the section, civic mention and a fraternal (an obvious misprint for paternal) kiss from the president were thought sufficient. The president, moreover, in a previous case had said that it would be better for a child to be taught sewing than recitations. The mother, "whose youth, elegance, and beauty struck all beholders," replied that the child had shown a taste for reciting verses; but Chaumette bluntly suggested that knitting stockings for the soldiers would be more useful. Léonard Bourdon, however, escorted to the Commune orphans of martyrs of the Revolution adopted by him, and one of them recited the Declaration. The Commune ordered that they should be furnished with red caps, as a constant reminder of the tyranny to which their fathers had fallen victims. Nor was this the only recitation with which the Commune was regaled. A type-founder's son, aged eight, gave the Commune the choice of hearing the Rights of Man, the Constitution, or a song on the martyrs of Liberty. On their choosing the Rights of Man, he recited the Declaration without the slightest stumbling, and with an unction beyond his years. Thereupon it was resolved that a tablet in the hall should record the names of scholars distinguished by proficiency in republican doctrine, so as to excite emulation. The Bibliothèque section having, moreover, decided on presenting a tricolour ribbon to the girl, and a sabre to the boy, who had best recited the Declaration, it escorted them to the Commune, and invited the president to give them a paternal kiss; after which the boy, amid plaudits, said he should use the sabre solely in defence of the republic, and he ended by shouting *Vive la République!* But while precocity was thus encouraged, the Commune refused, on the 25th January 1794, to sanction boys' clubs, on the ground that a school-master would have to be present, and that it would thus be a school, not a club. The hopes of the boys of Beaubourg section were thus blighted. Singing was not wholly

confined to children. On the 6th July 1793 the spokesman of the Invalides section, after announcing its acceptance of the Constitution, sang some patriotic verses to the tune of the "Marseillaise." The enthusiastic spectators joined in the chorus, and the Commune ordered 5000 copies to be sent to the Eure and Calvados departments, as precursors of the troops to be despatched against the Girondins.

To do good by stealth was not then the fashion, or at least was not universal. We have seen how Léonard Bourdon paraded his orphans. In like manner a priest, at whose door a child four years old had been left, informed the Commune that he had adopted the poor foundling. The Commune requested the Education Committee to record the fact in the annals of civism. On the 3rd January 1794 Perou, of Butte des Moulins section, announced his adoption of one of the four illegitimate and deserted children of a woman named Bernard, then in England. "My wife," he said, "will fulfil the sacred duties of mother, while both of us will bring him up in republican principles." Childless, he had previously adopted two boys, but one, not taken young enough, had turned out ill, and the other had died. Several other persons presented themselves to announce their adoption of children, usually orphans or destitute. Some of these benefactors were childless married couples. Adoption, however, might conceal nefarious purposes, for on the 3rd January 1794 it was ordered that such applications should be subjected to inquiry. Considering the number of orphans made by the guillotine, it is melancholy to find but one record of such an adoption—the sixth child of an unfortunate victim; but let us hope that there were other cases which were not trumpeted. Chaumette, on the 12th June 1793, presented a negro boy, bought as a slave in America, whom he intended to start in life as a compositor, "the trade," said Chaumette, "of Franklin." The Commune, at his request, named the boy Ogé or Oger, after the quadroon who came to France from St. Domingo at the beginning of the Revolution, returned in 1790, but heading an insurrection,

was captured and executed. "Thou art free," the president harangued the boy, "thou art a human being, mind and become a republican."

This was a kind of lay baptism, and infants were sometimes taken to the Commune to receive that rite. At an earlier stage of the Revolution priests, indeed, had not apparently objected to the bestowal of Roman names, for on the 27th March 1792 a child was baptized at St. Germain de Prés as Brutus; but with lay baptism eccentric nomenclature went great lengths. Thus, on the 19th October 1793 a man presented to the Commune a child whom he had named Révolutionnaire. Another infant, originally named Reine, was introduced on the 6th November and re-named Fraternité. Some of the members exclaimed "Bonne nouvelle," whereupon it was suggested that these two words should form a second name. Hermann, the judge by whom Marie Antoinette was tried, named his infant Aristides. After the fall of the Jacobins men who had named their sons Marat or Robespierre naturally desired to re-name them, and in the Council of Elders on the 3rd June 1797 Dochez proposed to facilitate this, but Savary urged the difficulty of drawing up a list of proscribed names, and nothing was done till 1803, when a law was passed enabling such names to be discarded and prohibiting such appellations for the future.

Adults, too, changed Christian or surnames. Louise Loulan, abhorring the saintly and monarchical associations of Louise, took on the 22nd October the name of Portia; and a godson of Louis XV., named after him Louis, solicited, a week later, permission to style himself Mutius Scævola. A child born on the 10th August 1792, the day of the invasion of the Tuileries, was named Victoire Égalité. The Commune, on the 15th September 1792, invited by the Duke of Orleans to give him a name, fixed on Égalité, and under that name he sat in the Convention and was tried and executed. His sister, the Duchesse de Bourbon, in the same spirit styled herself Citoyenne Vérité. In like manner Nicolas Joseph Paris, afterwards registrar to the

Revolutionary Tribunal, was authorised on the 5th February 1793 to change his surname to Fabricius, because deputy Lepelletier had been murdered by a man named Paris. So, too, Bourbon, appointed secretary to the Commune, took the name of Fleury,¹ not apparently reflecting that this suggested the name of a cardinal; while another Bourbon was authorised on the 4th February 1794 to assume the maternal name of Tarin. A woman announced that her son, unable to endure the opprobrium of the surname Leroy, because of its resemblance to *le roi*, had assumed the name of Unité. A bricklayer named Leroy styled himself Lesapeur, because he had been the first in pulling down an old royal palace. Fancy all the people named King going before the London Common Council during the Commonwealth to be re-named!² Baptismal names, indeed, could be altered without any formality, and Chaumette, as we have seen, had dubbed himself Anaxagoras in lieu of Pierre Gaspard, while Victor Hugo's father assumed the name of Brutus; but change of surname called for official sanction. An ex-priest named Erasmus styled himself Apostate. It is not surprising to find, however, that these applications wasted much time, so that at the instance of Chaumette the business was turned over to the sections.³ Girondin names became eventually as odious as royalist or religious ones. A man named Brissot on the 5th November 1793 styled himself Franciade Libre, Franciade being the new name of the suburb St. Denis. But perhaps the strangest application of all was that of Barracaud, a member of the Commune of the 10th August 1792, who on the 11th November appeared with his wife and children, asking to be unbaptized and

¹ *Moniteur*, xx. 459.

² Murat, the future king of Naples, styled himself for a time Marat, and Lucien Bonaparte, the future prince of Canino, became Brutus Bonaparte. These freaks were denounced at the Jacobin club in Oct. 1793 by Dubois-Crancé, who remarks that men should try to render their names illustrious, instead of assuming and dishonouring those which were already so.

³ Couturier reported from Étampes, in Nov. 1793, that the numerous names of Roi, Reine, Louis, and Antoinette had disappeared. As a general rule he had ordered Louis to be superseded by Sincère, Roi by Libre, Reine by Julie, and Antoinette by Sophie. (C. 283.)

re-married in republican fashion under the name of Chaliér, after the deputy who died in prison at Lyons. We do not hear what Christian(?) name he took, but his wife became Atride and his two sons Aristides and Regulus. This Barracaud, of the Arsenal section, in March 1794 denounced Sylvain Marchal's play, *Le Congrès des Rois*, because it represented the "infamous Cagliostro" as a patriot and republican, and depicted the "immortal Marat" in a magic lantern. The disuse of the observance of name (or patron saint) days to be substituted by birthdays was advocated as a logical corollary.

The re-naming of streets,¹ practised on so large a scale, though generally ordered by the sections, occasionally devolved on the Commune. On the 4th November 1793 the Place Vendôme section submitted a proposal for calling the rue St. Honoré rue de la Convention, and for naming its other streets after Lycurgus and other heroes; but the Commune objected to such a monopoly of historical names by a single section. The word "saint," however, was eliminated from Parisian topography, and on the 11th November 1793, just after the installation in Notre Dame of the Goddess of Liberty, the adjacent square and bridge took the name of Reason. In a corner house of the rue St. Dominique there is still the blank left by the word *Saint* having been effaced. The navy underwent the same process, all names associated with royalty being superseded. So also with playing-cards. The king was at one time styled "Pouvoir Exécutif," and on royalty being abolished the king and queen took other names.² Guyton Morveau, in November 1793, proposed to republicanise chess in the same fashion, *roi*, *reine*, *tour*, *fou*, and *chevalier* to become *enseigne*, *adjutant*, *canon*, *dragon*, and *cavalier*, while pawns were to be called infantry.³

Some of the applications to the Commune had a more practical purpose than mere changes of name. Thus a woman having twelve sons in the army asked, on the 23rd December 1793, for a passport to go and see her grandchildren. She not only received the passport, but amid

¹ See p. 34.

² See p. 47.

³ *Moniteur*, xviii. 383.

the acclamations of the assembly a kiss of gratitude from the president. An Englishwoman who had lived twenty-six years in France, had married a Frenchman, and was the mother of two children, one of them serving in the army, protested on the 4th November 1793 against being arrested as a foreigner, and an inquiry into her case was ordered. The daughter of Palloy, the stonemason who had made such a profit by selling fragments or facsimiles of the Bastille, complained on the 18th January 1794 that in spite of all his services to the Revolution her father had been thrown into prison; but her solicitation was unavailing, for he was charged with appropriating part of the proceeds of the sale of the old materials of the fortress.

It must not be supposed that the Commune was unmindful of the duties of ediles. It exhorted citizens going into the fields to pluck wild flowers to keep to the borders and not trample on the corn. It required house-owners to provide pipes so as to prevent rain from streaming or dropping from the eaves on pedestrians; but on reconsideration, iron and lead being urgently required for the army, this regulation, on the 28th December 1793, was rescinded. Waggoners were forbidden to ride, and required to walk alongside their horses; but it seems uncertain whether the object was to protect pedestrians from being run over in streets, still and for long afterwards devoid of foot-pavements, or to prevent men unprovided with civic cards from galloping off on being challenged to produce them. These cards were rigidly insisted upon in the case of all male adults, and latterly in that of females also.¹ Parisians had white and strangers red cards, 80,000 of the former and 20,000 of the latter being printed in readiness for use on the 27th March 1793. No houses or lodgings were to be let to persons unprovided with them. After eleven at night patrols, on the 21st September 1793, were directed to demand their production from everybody

¹ In Dec. 1793, however, the Commune, touched at seeing the difficulty with which an ex-priest and his housekeeper mounted the platform, resolved that persons over seventy years of age should not be required to apply for cards in

whom they met, and they were provided with lanterns, that the cards might be scrutinised. On Décadis the hour was ultimately altered to midnight. Outside every house, moreover, the name, age, and vocation of every inmate had to be inscribed in such a position as to be easily read. The refusal or postponement of these cards to persons suspected of royalism or lukewarmness was very harassing, and this naturally led to underhand means of procuring them. A man named Lebas, who had invited municipal officers to dinner with this object, was on the 7th April 1794 prosecuted for attempted bribery. The officers had declined the invitation and had denounced him.

That the interests of morality were not overlooked is

person. Sedaine, the dramatist, if he had to renew his certificate, may have benefited by this concession. Here is his original certificate :—

RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

CARTE DE SURETÉ

N° 119

Folio 5°

De la 12^e Compagnie

COMMUNE DE PARIS

Le citoyen Michel-Jean SEDAINE,
Natif de Paris,
Département de Paris,
Âgé de soixante et quatorze ans,
Demeurant, Cour cy-devant du Louvre,
Résidant à Paris depuis sa naissance.

SECTION DE MUSAEUM

SIGNALEMENT :

*Cheveux et sourcils blancs.
Front haut et ouvert.
Nez droit, yeux bleus verdâtres.
Bouche moyenne, menton rond.
Visage ovale.*

Signature :	Sous lieutenant p.
J. SEDAINE.	le capitaine :
Le 21 mars 1793.	NIODOT.
VILMORIN,	ROGER,
Président.	Secrétaire.

shown by the general orders daily issued by Hanriot. Thus, on the 11th Florial, he denounces indecent drawings chalked or pencilled on the walls of guardhouses, "which make modesty blush," and the printsellers on the quays were ordered not to exhibit improper pictures. On the 12th he speaks of women wearing green or white ribbons in lieu of tricolour, and of men placing the cockade in the lining of their hats so as to conceal it. On the 17th he forbids young men to bathe near the bridges—"Modesty is required; a republic is the ægis of virtue." Two days later he forbids bathing except in the bathing pontoons. On the 22nd, a gendarme having brutally knocked down an old cripple, he exclaims, "Woe to the man who does not respect old age," and the delinquent was punished. Decrees were more than once issued against loose women. Conjurors, as well as rosary vendors, were forbidden to ply their trade in the streets, and private lotteries were prohibited. For a time unmarried men were excluded from municipal offices, but this disability, on the 10th June 1794, was removed as having the undesigned effect of preventing young men from marrying, for want of a good position. Of crime we hear little, and Payan, in a glowing account of the festival of the Supreme Being, stated that not a flower was plucked by the crowd in the Tuileries gardens, though no soldier, as formerly, protected them.

The use of the birch at the Foundling Asylum being reported, all institutions and schools, on the 1st October 1793, were strictly forbidden to resort to so humiliating and indecent a punishment, or to any form of corporal chastisement. While shops were forbidden to close on Sunday, but had the option of closing or opening on Décadi, provision shops, on the 20th January 1794, were required to open on the latter day. On the 18th March 1794 the closing of butchers' shops on *ci-devant Vendredi Saint* was complained of. Good Friday, by the way, is still the only day in the year when French butchers close.

The Commune took care, a week after the September

¹ See *Journal de la Montagne*.

massacres, that the families of the victims should be protected from inconvenience or litigation. It required the keepers of all the prisons where massacres had been committed to repair to their respective sections and give information respecting the "martyrs" (it is surprising to meet with this term), lest families should have difficulty in obtaining legal proof of death. The clothes and other effects of the victims were also to be deposited at the section, so that they might be claimed by their families.

The victualling of Paris, as we shall see more fully later on, was one of the most difficult duties of the Commune. The Convention had imagined that fluctuations in prices occasioned by the depreciation of paper money could be checked by the "maximum" law.¹ Paine, in May 1793, had vainly warned Danton, from his American experience, of the folly of such a measure.² On the 29th September 1793 the Convention fixed the price throughout France of bread, meat, fuel, candles, tobacco, and drinks, and a few days later eatables of all kinds were also dealt with. It devolved on the municipalities to enforce this system, and the Paris municipality, moreover, undertook to guarantee the supply of bread and meat, but only in limited quantities, the inhabitants in fact being on rations as in a besieged city. Shambles were established at the Hôtel Dieu (hospital), but the hospital doctors remonstrated against this proximity as deleterious for the patients, and another site was probably found.

Such had been the scarcity of meat that in April 1793 Vergniaud proposed a "civic Lent," viz., the prohibition of

¹ So called because it fixed the "maximum," but really the only, price. Absurd as it seems to us for the State to regulate prices, it should be remembered that the assize of bread, not repealed in England till 1824, had long existed also in France. Diocletian in 310, on account of advancing prices, especially in the frontier provinces where the armies had to purchase supplies, fixed the price of provisions and wages. His preamble might have served for the Convention, for it said, "Everybody knows by experience that the commodities sold daily in town markets have reached exorbitant prices, and that the inordinate passion for gain is no longer checked either by importations or by abundant harvests, but regards the very bounties of Heaven as an evil."

² Conway's "Writings of Paine," iii. 127.

veal. This was referred by the Convention to a committee, but nothing had come of it when two months later Thuriot advocated abstinence from meat during the month of August, so that cattle might grow and multiply. Thereupon Marais and Montmartre sections resolved on a six weeks' civic Lent, while Prud'homme proposed the abolition of *pain bénit* in churches, as also of hair-powder. The former measure, he calculated, would save France thirty million pounds of bread per annum. Santerre, the brewer, in February 1793 had placarded Paris with a proposal to get rid of dogs and cats, as *bouches inutiles* whose food would nourish 1500 men; but Jeauffre threw ridicule on this scheme by ironically advocating the destruction of 10,400,000 sparrows, whereby 100,000 men could be fed for seventy days. Santerre, however, claimed credit for philanthropy, alleging that there were silly women who each kept sixty cats and as many dogs. A caricature represented him as waited upon by a deputation of cats and dogs, whose intended remonstrances he silenced by drawing a small guillotine from his pocket. The club of Chatillon-sur-Seine also petitioned the Convention, on the 14th November 1793, for the slaughter of all dogs, whose provender, it urged, would feed 100,000 human beings. In May 1794 the Commune recommended citizens not to keep dogs, except such as were necessary for business, and these should be kept indoors or chained to carts. Dogs loose in the streets at night were to be killed.

Bad harvests were the original cause of the dearth of bread, and the municipality contracted for wheat from England and America, but the evil was aggravated by vexations of all kinds inflicted on the peasants. Market carts, too, were sometimes pillaged by the mob, and neighbouring towns competed with Paris for supplies. In lieu of being, as prior to the Revolution, a source of revenue, Paris was a heavy drain on the State, requiring a monthly subsidy of 546,000 francs (in *assignats*) for bread alone, so that it might be sold under cost price.

For fear of supplies running short, people collected outside bakeries by eight at night, though the shops did not open till five or six next morning, and the crush caused several accidents. A commissary of the section, however, was present to maintain order. A woman named Richard, who, tired of standing, had sat down on the curb-stone for a moment, wanted to regain her place, and being ordered by the commissary to go to the bottom of the row, she called him *nigaud* (simpleton). For this she was arrested, as also a bystander who had taken her part, but after two months the Observatory section pleaded for her release as not having known that the man was a commissary, and as having been sufficiently punished for her inadvertence. She and her champion were accordingly liberated. Bakers' shops, by a decree of the 10th May 1794, were doubled in number to prevent this crowding, and people were forbidden to collect outside them overnight or before 6 A.M. Numbered tickets were eventually issued at night for use next morning, for we hear of a complaint of persons selling such tickets, which secured them priority in being served. Arcis section complained on the 7th April 1794 of rolls being made, but the reply was that these were of the same quality as ordinary loaves, and that uniform quality, not size, was sufficient. Beaubourg section alleged on the 22nd May that shopkeepers told customers they could sell only at a particular hour, which accounted for the daily gatherings called *queues*. This does not prove that the thing was new, as Carlyle imagines, but merely the name, for crowds had long been known outside theatres. An incidental remark in the defence of Hermann at his trial shows that the allowance of meat was three pounds per head for ten days. There were constant complaints of clandestine sales, and of violations of the *maximum*, as also of food being smuggled out of the city. Bakers and butchers were frequently called to account or arrested by the sections for selling bread to persons not resident in the particular section, or for sending it out beyond the barriers. Their journeymen had also to be forbidden to

leave their masters without a month's notice, or to demand more than the fixed wages.

Butchers were accused of palming off diseased meat, as also horse and dog flesh, and of selling off their best joints surreptitiously before opening their shops. Butlers and cooks whose masters had fled from France had started restaurants. These, it was complained, were well supplied with game and poultry. The Commune consequently ordered that meat of all kinds entering Paris should be taken exclusively to the markets, and never direct to the consumer. Butchers were also forbidden to send out meat to customers. Wealthy prisoners were accused of faring sumptuously while patriots were starving, and latterly they were restricted to the prison diet.

The difficulties caused by the *maximum* were not confined to bakers and butchers. Grocers' shops, on account of the scarcity of sugar, were repeatedly the scenes of riot or pillage. Several chandlers gave up business rather than submit to the system, and cabmen refused to take fares at the fixed tariff. Happily a mild winter made spring vegetables early and plentiful in 1794, while a Brest convoy brought American wheat.

Nor was food the only thing subject to regulation. Rags were requisitioned for *assignats*, and shoemakers had to supply the army, *nolens volens*, citizens being also invited to present their shoes to the troops, and as far as possible to wear *sabots*. Even musicians were liable to being drafted into regimental bands. Doctors were requisitioned for civil or military service, and even elderly men, exempt from the conscription, were enrolled for driving military baggage carts. Parisians, of course, were not likely to be thus treated, unfamiliarity with horses disqualifying them, but they had to help in manufacturing saltpetre for gunpowder.

One of the latest measures of the Commune—and the discontent thereby caused contributed to its fall—was the application of the *maximum* to wages. It issued a wages list, from which it is sufficient to quote the

journeymen bakers' tariff : for 9 or 10 batches a day, first man 15 francs, second 12 francs, third 9 francs ; for 5 or 6 batches, 12 francs, 9 francs, and 6 francs ; for 3 or 4 batches, 10 francs, 8 francs, and 6 francs.

The Parisians remained thus on rations till the 20th February 1796, when the Directory left them to feed themselves, with the exception of paupers.¹ The price of bread and meat, however, continued to be fixed every ten days, though other commodities had from the 10th December 1794 been left to the law of supply and demand.

We read in Hayward's contemporary "Annals of Queen Elizabeth":—

Not only images but rood-lofts, relics, sepulchres, books, paintings, copes, vestments, altar-cloths, were in divers places committed to the fire, and that with such shouting and applause of the vulgar sort as if it had been the sacking of some hostile city. So difficult it is when men run out of one extreme not to run into the other.

This is just what happened in Paris in the autumn of 1793. Notice was sent on the 14th October to all ministers of religion, priests, rabbis, pastors, and Quakers—it is strange to hear of Quakers in this connection—that no rites or demonstrations would be permitted in the streets, and the closing of the churches soon followed. Plate and vestments were carried off, and section after section appeared before the Commune to offer the spoils. The coffer of St. Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris, which in August had been removed from the Pantheon to St. Étienne-du-Mont, was opened, and all its treasures sent to the Mint, the saint herself, as the Commune was sarcastically informed, "offering no opposition." Most of the precious stones, however, it was alleged, were false. The Commune, which had already resolved on sending its revolutionary decrees, translated into Italian, to the Pope "for his instruction," insultingly ordered the despatch to him of the minutes of this operation,² and the

¹ *Moniteur*, xxvii. 414-17-58.

² *Ibid.* xviii. 489.

saint's bones and shroud were directed to be burnt on the place de Grève, "to expiate the crime of having served to propagate error and encourage the luxury of the idle." Accordingly on the 3rd December the remains were destroyed, together with chasubles and copes.¹ Three weeks previously there had been a holocaust of the relics, missals, and vestments of *ci-devant* Notre Dame, and the reliquaries, sent to the Mint, were valued, independently of workmanship, at 248,976 francs. Quinze-Vingts section handed in to the Commune the alleged shirt of St. Louis, which, it was announced, had proved to be a woman's shift. It was at once committed to the flames. The Jews followed suit. Beauborg section was their especial quarter, and they presented a cope said to have belonged to Moses and to have been ever since worn by his successors, while citizen Benjamin assured the Commune on the 12th November that he and his brethren wished to be regarded not as sectaries but as Frenchmen. On the 23rd of that month all churches were closed. Be it remembered that it was the "constitutional" clergy who were thus silenced, for the recusants, still professing allegiance to Rome, had long been ousted or banished. An explanation, however, was given a few days afterwards that citizens were at liberty to hire buildings for worship and pay stipends to ministers. Robespierre had probably thrown out a hint that intolerance was being carried too far. But the better to extirpate religion, no almanacs except those of the new calendar were allowed to be sold, and when the Jewish passover arrived in 1794, the decree for one kind of bread being rigidly upheld, the Jews were forbidden to buy flour for unleavened bread.

The abjuration of priests was the natural sequel to the renunciation of obnoxious names, and sometimes a man simultaneously abandoned his priesthood and his name.

¹ In 1804 the stone tomb, which contained the saint's remains before their being deposited in the reliquary, was found in the crypt of the Abbaye, and it was placed, together with relics of her from various other shrines, in St. Étienne, enclosed in an ornamental mausoleum.

Erasmus van de Steen, a Belgian cleric, became a layman as Apostate van de Steen, and Laurent Desland became in like manner Tell Desland, for William Tell vied in popularity with classical and more authentic personages. Joseph Francis Ovid Lemasson became Acale(?) Lemasson, to be the namesake, as he said, of the inventor of the mariner's compass; while his wife—for he was married as well as unfrocked—superseded Françoise Marie Elisabeth by Aglae-Mariée. Aglae is of course one of the Graces; turning Marie into Mariée was a kind of pun. Cournand, who claimed to have been the first priest to renounce his functions, and to have always combated superstition, was among the abjurors. Between the 14th September 1791 and the 10th November 1793 his wife had borne him three children. "Nullus annus sine prole." An ex-nun, amid plaudits, took, on the 3rd October 1793, the oath of fidelity to the Republic, and the Commune directed the sections to keep a register of laicisations. On the 14th November several doctors, anxious to emulate the unfrocked priests, presented themselves to confess that they had been charlatans, and that nature and reason were the best remedies. They accordingly offered their diplomas, to be converted into cartridges. A barrister, named Calmet, not to be outdone, handed in his legal diplomas, for which, he said, ermined pundits had charged him much without teaching him anything.

I have yet to speak of one, and that the most invidious, of the functions of the Commune—the custody of the royal family in the Temple—functions which were performed with inexcusable barbarity. The Commune claimed jurisdiction over all Paris prisons, and the Temple was therefore included. The Luxembourg, the Archbishop's palace, and the Ministry of Justice—advocated by Manuel and Pétion—had been in turn proposed for the royal captives, but these were objected to as insecure, and on the 13th August 1792 the Commune suggested the tower of the Temple, to which the Constituent Assembly agreed. The Assembly undertook the cost of maintenance, and

voted half a million francs on account for this purpose. The King asked for 2000 francs of this sum to be handed to himself as pocket-money for small expenses, but this was refused. The Queen, having left her watch behind her in her hurried escape from the Tuileries, ordered a repeater, with gold chain, of Bréguet, the founder of a business still carried on by his descendants on the quai de l'Horloge; the price was 960 francs.¹ Cléry, the King's faithful valet, made applications for necessities, and in October 1792 cards, dominoes, draughts, and other games were purchased. In November the Queen procured several pieces of music. Among them, strange to say, was the "Marseillaise," and this she played to one of the municipal commissaries on the harpsichord, which had been tuned for her. What a subject for a picture, Marie Antoinette playing the "Marseillaise" to her jailors! As the prisoners, moreover, had recovered none of their clothes from the Tuileries, and had only those they were then wearing, the King ordered a supply. Those for himself cost 5163 francs,² those for the Queen 9904 francs, those for the Dauphin 2036 francs, those for the daughter 3653 francs, and those for Princess Elisabeth, the King's sister, 4465 francs. Altogether sixty-five bills were incurred for clothes, making, with twelve others for sundry purchases, such as prayer-books, silk stockings, cosmetics, a gilt-blade pocket-knife for the Dauphin, and corsets, a total of 29,513 francs. The Commune, on the 18th November, ordered the smaller bills to be paid at once, while the larger ones were to be examined. A report on the kitchen expenses from the 13th August to the 31st October shows that there were altogether thirteen

¹ The depreciation of paper money has always to be taken into consideration.

² His clothes, as though unfit to be worn by any one else, and even his bedding, were burnt by the Commune on the place de Grève on the 29th September 1793. They consisted of six coats, of various material—cloth, velvet, silk, and calico—ten pairs of breeches, a satin shirt, five pantaloons, nineteen white waistcoats, two dressing-gowns, a hat, and a tortoiseshell snuff-box (broken). Even the tree of liberty planted by Louis in the Tuileries gardens at an early stage of the Revolution was uprooted on the first anniversary of his execution as "sullied by Capet's impure hand."

cooks and kitchen servants. The fare at the three meals, breakfast, dinner, and supper, was ample and varied. The King observed all the Church fasts, though his family did not; but he alone took wine, and that in moderation, whereas they drank water. All, the reporting commissary acknowledged, were abstemious; but Goret, another commissary, states that until the King's trial their appetites were good. What was left was consumed by the thirteen cooks and the two waiters. The bills for the eleven weeks amounted to 28,745 francs.¹ On the 8th December the cooks were ordered to cater for the commissaries as well as for the prisoners. On the 14th December the female prisoners applied for winter clothes.

It is satisfactory to find that the material necessities of the captives were, at least until the Queen's removal to the Conciergerie, unstintedly supplied; but the moral tortures to which they were subjected were lamentable. Plots were undoubtedly formed for their release, and these were held to justify insulting rigours. Four commissaries were at first on duty, but in December the number was doubled. Some watched the King, others the Queen, the rest sat in the council-room, where they deliberated on the prisoners' requests, gave orders to the cooks, servants, and warders, and drew up reports to the Commune. Each commissary served forty-eight hours, and the duty was taken by the members of the Commune in rotation. On the 20th September the King was transferred from the main building to the tower, and the other prisoners were afterwards placed in the story above him. The King was deprived of all writing materials and knives, a ridiculous and insulting precaution against suicide, but on the other hand the four warders were then withdrawn from his room. The two warders of the lower story had 6000 francs a year each, on account of the importance and danger of their functions. Three hundred National Guards, receiving five or six

¹ *Journal de Paris*, Nov. 20 and Dec. 11, 1792; *Nouvelle Revue*, April 1, 1884, article by Morimerie, who, in 1848, found on a bookstall a bundle of manuscripts respecting the prisoners in the Temple.

francs a day, were posted outside the Temple, and remained there even after the King and Queen had been guillotined. One of these was arrested on the 20th March 1794 for taking a plan of the tower.

Some of the commissaries published after the Restoration their reminiscences of the Temple, and these have lately been reprinted by M. Lenotre,¹ but being manifestly designed to obtain Court favour they must be received with caution. Goret, an ex-inspector of markets, states that he was told to keep his hat on, and to style the King "Monsieur Capet." The hat instruction seems to be corroborated by the fact that on the 21st July 1793 the Cordeliers club denounced a commissary as taking off his hat to the prisoners, the reply given being that such a want of self-respect was impossible. Lepitre, a schoolmaster, relates that his colleague Mercereau, a stonemason, stretched himself out on the sofa usually occupied by the Queen, and that Léchenard, a tailor, got intoxicated while on duty. Some commissaries drew their chairs to the fire, and put their feet on the fender, so that the prisoners could not approach it. Two unfrocked priests, Roux and Bernard, who eventually escorted the King to the scaffold, were on the rota. One of them indulged in such foul language that one evening at supper the three female captives, who had only just sat down to table, were obliged to leave the room. The other sang songs all night to prevent their sleeping.² The warders were even ruder than the commissaries, threatening the prisoners with death, singing obscene or revolutionary songs, and covering the walls of the corridors with caricatures of the King at the gallows.

The Convention, it is but fair to say, desired the captives to be properly cared for, and it twice sent members chosen from the General Security Committee, to ask them whether

¹ *Captivité et Mort de Marie Antoinette.*

² Roux committed suicide on the 10th Feb. 1794 to avoid trial by the Revolutionary Tribunal, to which the ordinary tribunal had relegated him when charged with embezzling charity subscriptions and inciting the pillage of grocers' shops. Bernard, according to Lepitre, died of a painful disease, but Wallon names him among the Robespierrists who were guillotined.

they had anything to complain of. It is revolting, however, to find that one of those delegates was Drouet, the postmaster by whom the royal family were arrested at Varennes in June 1791.¹ On the 1st November 1793 he reported that the prisoners had nothing to complain of as to food and accommodation, but they wished a sum to be fixed for their maintenance, so that they might not exceed it. They also wished for a doctor and apothecary acquainted with their constitutions. Dr. Le Monnier was accordingly sent, and when the King was ill, Princess Elisabeth also having a bad cold, a daily bulletin was issued. The King likewise asked for 2000 francs for small daily expenses and for furniture and linen from the Garde Meuble. On the 16th November Drouet, after conferring with the Commune, again went to the Temple, where the King repeated the same requests.

After the King's death, the Public Safety Committee was guilty of wanton barbarity, on the 1st July 1793, in ordering the poor little Dauphin, eight years of age, to be separated from his mother, sister, and aunt. Municipal commissaries had to execute this order, and after an hour's heartrending struggle, in which they "showed her as much forbearance as was possible," the Queen submitted. The appointment of a guardian for the Dauphin rested with the Commune, and it selected the infamous shoemaker Antoine Simon. He entered on his functions on the 3rd July, at a salary of 500 francs a month. His wife accompanied him to the Temple. She had formerly been a domestic servant, and enjoyed small annuities from two of her old mistresses. She was his second wife, having married him in 1788, and had no children. She had tended in August 1792 some of the men wounded in the attack on the Tuileries, who had been conveyed to the Cordeliers' church, near which she lived, and on applying for payment for her services had been awarded 200 francs. Simon was charged never to let the Dauphin go out of his sight. His treatment of the

¹ See p. 503.

unfortunate boy is one of the most harrowing chapters in history.¹ Happily on the 20th January 1794 he had to choose between his wardership and his seat on the Commune, and he chose the latter. The commissaries thenceforth had charge of the child. Retribution awaited Simon, for he sided, as a member of the Commune, with Robespierre, and perished with him. He lived in the street named after Marat, and was doubtless a worshipper of that sanguinary fanatic. On the 20th June 1795 his confiscated papers were restored to his widow. They showed that he had four shares of 90 francs each in Lafarge's tontine, one in his own name, another in his wife's (Marie Jeanne Aladame), a third in his brother's, and a fourth in his wife's sister's.² His widow survived till the Restoration, when she contrived to obtain a pension from the royal family on the representation that she had been kind to the Dauphin, though there is no evidence that she ever attempted to check her husband's brutalities. She died in an hospital on the 10th June 1819.

Some of the commissaries, especially after the King's execution, pitied the captives, though demonstrations of such pity were highly dangerous. On the 20th April 1794, five commissaries, a lawyer, a schoolmaster, an architect, a bookseller, and a builder, were denounced by Tison, ex-valet-de-chambre to the Queen at the Temple, for having betrayed sympathy. They were consequently struck off the rota. Tison had been dismissed on the 12th December 1793, it being thought useless to go on giving him 6000 francs a year when Marie Antoinette had been sent to the Conciergerie. Some of the members, indeed, wished to retain him as a means of obtaining information respecting Princess Elisabeth, but others deemed it unlikely that she would make a confidant of him. Suspected of "moderantism," he was imprisoned in the Temple from the 22nd September 1793 till January 1795. His wife, it is said, from remorse, went mad in June 1793, but was discharged from the asylum in

¹ See Beauchesne, *Louis XVII.*

² T. 1666.

February 1795. These five members were fortunate in not incurring expulsion from the Commune. A sixth, Lebeuf, a teacher, was denounced on the 5th September 1793 by Simon, as having reprimanded him for bringing up the little Dauphin like a sans-culotte. Lebeuf explained that he had merely objected to the poor child being taught indecent songs, and had spoken in the interest of morality. The Commune ordered him, nevertheless, to be interrogated by the police, and on the 8th October 1793 he and four other councillors were arrested. They were tried on the 20th, but acquitted. A sixth, however, was arrested at Bordeaux and guillotined. On the 27th March 1794 Cressond was not only struck off the rota, but expelled from the Commune and prosecuted for having expressed pity for the Dauphin's fate under Simon. After a fortnight's imprisonment he was released, on the ground that though weak-minded and no revolutionist, there was nothing serious against him.

We get occasional glimpses from the commissaries' reports of the three prisoners remaining after the Queen's removal on the 2nd August 1793 to the Conciergerie. It should be mentioned that two months before that event the Commune, at her request, allowed *Gil Blas* to be procured for the Dauphin, who was also supplied with a collection of toys, but that in July the dietary had been reduced, the expense apparently now falling on the Commune. In September the commissaries seized some embroidery on which Princess Elisabeth and her niece were working, because the border contained small crosses. The Commune, however, declared this unworthy of notice.¹ Elisabeth's gold thimble being worn into a hole at the end, so that she could no longer use it, she gave it up to the commissary, who induced the Commune to order that it should be sold for the benefit of the poor and that she should have a copper or ivory one. Alas! the unfortunate seamstress had only two months' use of the new thimble. A daily potion supplied

¹ *Esprit des Gazettes*.

by a druggist was countermanded on the ground that both the Princess and her niece were in good health. We hear of a tradesman who supplied the Temple being called to account for overcharge.

The Commune fell with Robespierre, and Barras claims credit as having on the very day of its fall visited the royal captives, scolded the Dauphin's keepers for the slovenly condition of his cell, and induced the Public Safety Committee to order proper medical attendance. The Committee appointed two warders, and everything was done to save the life of the poor Dauphin, but he expired on the 11th March 1795, in the arms of commissary Lasne, according to Lasne's epitaph in Père Lachaise. In the Temple quarter, however, there was a rumour that the funeral was a sham, and that the poor boy had been smuggled away. Here we have the germ of the sham Dauphin legends. After his death the Committee, on the 13th June 1795, directed the commissaries of police to select three women of "moral and republican virtue," one of whom it would appoint as his sister's companion. The commissaries were also to report on her food and on what clothes she required. Thenceforth, until her release in December 1795, Thérèse was becomingly treated. Married in exile to her cousin the duc d'Angoulême, she re-entered France in 1814, was again an exile in 1830, and survived till 1848.

The guillotine is seldom mentioned in the Commune minutes, for it was not directly in the jurisdiction of that body; but on the 16th August 1793 its attention was called to the insecurity of the scaffolding put up in the place de la Révolution (now Concorde) for spectators at the execution of General Custine. A citizen, moreover, represented that to treat executions as a show was unworthy of French humanity. The matter was at first referred to the police, but on a second representation being made of the danger of accidents, the Commune ordered the stands to be removed. None

were thenceforth to be erected in any public square without the consent and supervision of the authorities. But this prohibition could not have been enforced, for on the 24th March Thermes section reported several accidents from the fall of stands at the execution of Hébert and his associates. There was also a complaint that carts (evidently filled with spectators) blocked up the highway near the guillotine. The order against stands or other obstructions was consequently renewed. Spectators were likewise forbidden to wave their hats or walking-sticks when the axe fell. This mention of walking-sticks implies the attendance of men above the working class. But what had Thermes section to do with the place de la Révolution, unless, indeed, some of its inhabitants had suffered in the accidents? On the 7th October Chaumette alleged that prisoners gorged themselves with drink before starting for execution, consequently appeared very courageous, and shouted *Vive le Roi*, so that the spectacle, instead of being deterrent, became triumphal. He urged that drink should be forbidden.

If the guillotine was not in the province of the Commune, cemeteries and funerals were so. Ordinary funerals, by decree of the 10th January 1794, had to take place at midnight. They numbered about fifty a day, whereas the guillotine latterly despatched nearly as many. A complaint of Chaumette on the 8th November 1793 gives us a thrill of horror. He stated that the Madeleine gravediggers stripped the bodies of the guillotined inside the cemetery, and put up the clothes for sale on the spot among the bystanders. At his suggestion it was ordered that the bodies should be taken to a building, apparently the former chapel, and should be there stripped and immediately interred. The gravediggers might then be allowed to bargain among themselves for the clothes. To secure proper decorum, a commissary of the section was to be present. Chaumette had little idea that the guillotine within five months awaited him also. These ghastly

perquisites were abolished; and on the 9th February the Commune decided that the bodies should be wrapped in packing cloth, while according to Michelet the clothes of the victims were latterly sent to the hospital. Female victims had their hair cut off, as we know, before execution, in order that their necks might be bare. A speech by Payan in the Commune on the 10th May 1794 tells us what became of these locks. He ridiculed elderly women for purchasing them. "This," he said, "is a new species of masquerade, a new branch of trade, a new kind of devotion. Let us not interfere with these harmless pleasures. Let us respect these *blonde* wigs. Our aristocrats will serve at least some purpose. Their hair will conceal the bald heads of women, and the thin covering of others who were never Jacobins except by their hair."

On the 6th February 1794 the Roule section asked for the closing of the Madeleine cemetery, in which the King and Queen had been buried. "The proverb *morte la bête, mort le venin*," said the spokesman, "is falsified, for the aristocrats are poisoning us even after their death." An assurance was given that another spot should be selected, and accordingly on the 24th March the Hébert batch of victims "handselled" a small plot of ground at the corner of Parc Monceau and the rue du Rocher, part of the confiscated Orleans property. This served until the removal of the guillotine to the eastern extremity of Paris, the place du Trône, when Picpus served for the interments, but as Robespierre and his confederates were executed in the place de la Révolution, the Monceau plot was then again used. When the northern end of the rue Miromésnil was made, some of the bones of the victims were discovered. As late as 1896 a dingy one-story wine-shop at the corner of rue Monceau stood on part of the cemetery, but it is now all covered with lofty houses, in constructing the cellars of which every vestige of 1794 must have been destroyed.

Weddings as well as funerals were in the province of the Commune. Civil marriage was decreed in June 1792, and all marriages were performed at the Hôtel de Ville.

La Reveillère-Lepaux tells us that he once witnessed the ceremony, if ceremony it can be called :—

I never in my life saw anything more indecorous. The entrance to the hall was crowded by a thousand roughs, whose disgusting talk and cynical gestures shocked even the least fastidious. Picture, next, a dirty undecorated hall, where people were packed pell-mell on tavern-like benches—bridegrooms, brides, and witnesses (I do not say parents, for the young couples, who were in the majority, had none), a public officer with untrimmed hair and shabby morning coat, a large ugly statue of Hymen, holding in his hand two old wreaths of discoloured artificial flowers ; a few clerks to keep the registers. All these persons on an old wooden platform. Picture the successive calling up of each couple, the utterance in four words of I know not what formula, the signing of the couples and witnesses at the foot of the register, and behold, twenty or thirty marriages finished ! No ceremonies, no speeches, no music, no emblems, no gathering of two families and their friends.¹

Of the 144 members of the Commune ninety-six were executed as accomplices of Robespierre, and the metropolis was thus deprived of local self-government. Paris, or rather the small faction which ruled in its name, had sought to dictate to France. France now dictated to it in its turn. "This populace," Barbaroux had written, "is no more fit for a philosophical government than the lazzaroni of Naples or the cannibals of America (*sic*)."

But let us not forget that Paris had been ruled by a turbulent and unscrupulous minority.

¹ *Réflexions sur le Culte*, an 5.

CHAPTER IV

THE PARIS SECTIONS

Registers—Organisation—Nomenclature—Civic cards—Recitations—Prison “orgies”—Fraternal dinners—“Tu,” not “vous”—Gifts—Revolutionary committees—Arrest of English—Other arrests—Suburban refuges—Petty tyranny—Suppliants—Delation—Twelfth day—Deaf and dumb—Morellet—Episodes—Scarcity—Iconoclasm—Committees dissolved—Exposures and prosecutions—Amnesty—Stage satire.

AFTER the Commune we naturally come to the “sections.” They played a prominent, sometimes indeed a decisive, part in the principal episodes of the Revolution; yet very little is generally known of their nature and organisation. Some persons probably suppose them to have been subdivisions of the Commune or municipality. Others imagine that they signify the inhabitants of particular areas or battalions of the National Guards. No accurate idea, however, can be formed of the government of Paris—a kind of Parish Council rule under which peaceable citizens were often at the mercy of fanatics or miscreants, exposed to domiciliary visits, arbitrary arrests, forced subscriptions to objects which they abhorred, and sometimes constrained to simulate approval of the worst excesses—without understanding what these sections really were. If historians have taken but little notice of them it has not been from want of accessible materials. The National Archives of Paris possess fifty-six registers,¹ mostly bulky folios, containing the minutes of meetings of sections or their committees. Mortimer Ternaux examined several of these for his *Histoire de la Terreur*, which he did not live to complete, while Taine seems to have looked only at two, the registers of sections Roi de Sicile and Beaubourg. A

¹ F. 7, 2471–2526.

perusal of fifty-six volumes, some ill written, is indeed neither easy nor inviting. I do not profess to have made an exhaustive scrutiny of them, but the time I have devoted to them has been well repaid. Taine too hastily concluded that they were the work of illiterate secretaries, "the very language and spelling of the lowest stamp." In reality they are of very various quality. Some, such as Bibliothèque, are admirably kept, well written, well spelt, and, to crown all, well indexed. Others, Tuileries, Quatre Nations, Grenelle, Invalides, Gravilliers, for instance, are exactly the reverse, ill written, ill spelt, and unindexed. The majority, as might be expected, are neither very good nor very bad. They are mostly thick folios, but the Montmartre register consists of sheets stitched together, with paper covers, those covers, curiously enough, consisting of church music or service notices which had evidently hung in some church for the use of the choir. It is indexed, but imperfectly. Cassini, the astronomer, was for a time secretary of Observatory section, though he was eventually imprisoned, and that register is usually well kept. Some registers have a title-page, an elaborate caligraphic flourish with republican symbols. The Panthéon committee utilised the old ledger of a Catholic college, apparently Lisieux, turning it round so as to begin at the first page, but leaving at the other end entries showing payments made by students in 1725-26. Among these I notice a Charles Macarthy and a Jean de la Place of Rouen, possibly a kinsman of the astronomer. The committee which thus spared the expense of stationery had an illiterate secretary. In some cases the secretary wrote a good hand, but was occasionally absent and had an illiterate substitute. Let us not forget however that fashionable ladies then sometimes spelt phonetically. There is great difference also in quantity as well as in quality. In the Théâtre Français and Halle-au-Blé registers we read day after day "*affaires ordinaires*." This ordinary business is just what we should like to know, though we can guess from other registers that it consisted of applications for civic cards, reception

and investigation of denunciations, and orders of arrests. Many of the registers, indeed, are a monotonous chronicle of the granting of civic cards, apprehensions for incivik talk in cafés or elsewhere, the placing or removing of warders at houses whose occupants were under arrest at home, and denunciations of sales by tradesmen at unlawful prices.

Although half the registers of the revolutionary committees are missing, including the Luxembourg, which would have been especially interesting to us on account of the detention of Paine and other Englishmen in the palace of that name, it is not likely that they have been clandestinely destroyed, as undoubtedly has happened in the provinces, by persons anxious to conceal the fanaticism of their ancestors. These missing documents were not perhaps handed over to the new committees when, on the 20th October 1794, the sectional were superseded by arrondissement committees (an arrondissement being a group of four sections); or, when these bodies in their turn disappeared, their papers may not have been deposited in the National Archives. In one case there is an index without any corresponding register. Those registers, however, which remain are amply sufficient to give us an idea of the operations of the sections.

But we should first explain when and how these bodies were created. Paris, which before the Revolution had had sixteen quarters, was divided in 1789 into sixty districts, and these, though formed only for the purpose of electing the municipality or Commune, continued to exist as what may be called vestries or ward-motes, claiming authority over the inhabitants, and sometimes encroaching on the functions of the Commune. In June 1790, as part of a new organisation, the city was divided into forty-eight sections, of irregular shape and size, but so arranged as each to have about 12,000 inhabitants, 2000 of them "active" or householding, rate-paying, and voting citizens. Besides electing three members

of the Commune, the section appointed committees—a charity (*bienfaisance*) committee, which attended to the relief of the poor, distributing food and fuel tickets, a civil committee, which secured the supply of food and transacted general business, a correspondence committee, and from the 21st March 1793 a surveillance or revolutionary committee, which granted or withheld certificates of “civism” (that is to say, of republicanism), made domiciliary visits to search for arms, and arrested suspects. Latterly there was also a saltpetre committee, for that commodity, as we have seen, was scarce, and was urgently required for the manufacture of gunpowder. Each section had its “armed force,” or company of the National Guard, members of which by rotation had to mount guard at the headquarters of the section, at the barriers (if the section bordered on the walls), and in the principal thoroughfares. There were apparently two men at each watch. No substitute was ostensibly allowed unless a member of the same company, and then subject to the permission of the superior officer, three absences otherwise entailing a week’s imprisonment. In point of fact, however, substitutes were common, about a hundred men in each company performing the whole duty, as proxies paid by the indolent or the unwilling, and Champcenetz, when condemned to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, mockingly asked the judge whether he could not as in the National Guard procure a substitute. By a decree of September 9, 1793, a general meeting of each section was held twice a week, on Sundays and Thursdays, which on the adoption of the new calendar was altered to twice a decade, viz. the fifth day of the month and every multiple of five. The Thermidorians, I may here mention, took care not to choose one of these days for the attack on Robespierre, for it feared that these meetings might side with him. He fell, indeed, on the 10th Thermidor, but the conflict was on the 9th, and simply lasted till after midnight. At the instance of Danton,

the Convention on the 4th September 1793 allowed 40 sous or 2 francs out of the national exchequer for attendance at a general meeting, but this sum was to be given only to men who claimed it as necessary for their subsistence, and who were present when the proceedings opened (in winter at 5 P.M.), a proof that the citizen had struck work early in order to attend. There was a complaint in Place Royale section, 16th May 1794, that those leaving early received the money. Gross frauds and personation, if we are to believe a speech in the Convention by Cambon on the 21st August 1794,¹ were practised in some of the sections. Payment was claimed for 1200 attendants when there had not really been more than 300, not all of whom had even applied for the 40 sous, and the money went, not to the necessitous, but to men in receipt of good salaries. No strangers were to be admitted, and the meeting was to close by 10 P.M. Whether for pecuniary or political reasons, the Convention, on the 17th September 1793, dismissed with a reprimand an application for permission to hold more frequent meetings, and the Public Safety and General Security Committees prohibited the convening of special meetings.² The section committees, however, met as often as they chose, the revolutionary committee indeed daily, and the members of the latter were paid at first 3 francs but ultimately 5 francs a day, which was to be raised by a tax on the rich. These allowances, small as they were, especially when paper money became depreciated, were not to be despised when the exodus of the wealthy and the cessation of foreign visitors had thrown many Parisians out of employment, and when, as the natural effect of agitations, there was a disinclination for manual labour.

The sections mostly met in churches or monastic

¹ *Moniteur*, xxi. 556.

² But this was evaded by the creation of "popular societies" or clubs, which could meet nightly and sometimes met at 10, at the normal close of the sectional meeting, of which it was really a continuation.

chapels, which, indeed, were the only buildings sufficiently spacious. Sergeant Marceau¹ tells us that the municipal pew in front of the pulpit usually served for the president and secretaries, and that speeches were in some cases delivered from the pulpit. For a time the churches thus served both for worship and for political gatherings, but in the autumn of 1793 religious services were suppressed, the Commune, on the 13th November, notifying the Lombards and Thermes sections, which still tolerated them, that liberty must be the only object of worship. Busts of Marat, after his assassination, were placed in the sectional buildings, but were ignominiously shattered on the fall of the Jacobins.

The sections were originally named after the principal object, fountain, square, or building included in their limits, though there had been an idea of making them commemorate celebrated men buried in their midst; but when streets were re-named in order to efface all religious and monarchical associations, the sections were subjected to the same process. Several of them, indeed, underwent repeated changes, if named after a celebrity of the day, for reputations were very short-lived. Many, if not most, of the appellations eventually ceased to convey any idea of their locality. Sans-Culottes, Homme Aimé, Enfants Rouges, Amis de la Patrie, Bonnet Rouge, Indivisibilité, Régénérée, Contrat Social, Guillaume Tell, Fédérés, Marseille, Montagne, République, Réunion, Révolutionnaire, Unité, gave no clue to their topography, though Mirabeau and Marat sections indicated that those personages had been, so to speak, parishioners. The inconvenience of these names could not but be felt, and a suggestion was made that each section should be named after a tree of liberty of a particular kind planted in its midst, but this botanical nomenclature would not have mended matters. When names of streets were metamorphosed, the section was in some cases the agent in this process, for as early as the 6th October 1792 Mirabeau

¹ Mrs. Simpson, "Reminiscences of a Regicide."

(afterwards Mont Blanc) section turned Provence into Franklin, Taitbout into Brutus, St. George into Guillaume Tell, and Martyrs into Regulus. These classical appellations could have conveyed no meaning to the mass of the population, and the fashion in which they must have been distorted is shown by the public crier of Mutius Scævola section being punished for calling it *cervelas* (saveloy). But it was not merely classical names which were unintelligible even to the partially educated. A petition in August 1798 to the Council of Five Hundred from Aillant (Champagne) advocated the amalgamation of certain holidays with the "Fêtes de Cadaïres." This term, written twice over, might have puzzled me but for an endorsement by the secretary of the Council, who spelt it correctly "décadaïres." Yet this petition was in good handwriting, probably that of the parish school-master.

To avoid confusion I retain throughout the original names, which, in most cases, are indicative of the topographical situation. Here is a list of the sections, the subsequent names being added, and the figures in brackets showing the arrondissements into which the sections were ultimately grouped :—

1. Arcis (7).
2. Arsenal (9).
3. Beaubourg ; Réunion (7).
4. Bibliothèque ; 1792 ; Lepelletier (2).
5. Bondy (5).
6. Bonne Nouvelle (5).
7. Champs Élysées (1).
8. Croix Rouge ; Bonnet Rouge ; Liberté ; Ouest (10).
9. Enfants Rouges ; Marais ; Homme Armé (7).
10. Faubourg Montmartre (2).
11. Faubourg St. Denis ; Faubourg du Nord (5).
12. Fontaine de Grenelle (10).
13. Fontaine Montmorency ; Lafontaine et Molière ; Brutus (3).
14. Gobelins ; Finistère ; Lazowski (12).

15. Grange Batelière ; Mirabeau ; Mont Blanc (2).
16. Gravilliers (6).
17. Halle-au-Blé (4).
18. Henri IV. ; Pont Neuf ; Révolutionnaire (11).
19. Hôtel de Ville ; Maison Commune ; Fidélité (9).
20. Ile St. Louis ; Fraternité (9).
21. Invalides (10).
22. Jardin des Plantes ; Sans-Culottes (12).
23. Lombards (6).
24. Louvre ; Muséum (4).
25. Luxembourg ; Mutius Scævola (11).
26. Marché des Innocents ; Halles (4).
27. Mauconseil ; Bon Conseil (5).
28. Montreuil (8).
29. Notre Dame ; Cité ; Raison (9).
30. Observatoire (12).
31. Oratoire ; Gardes Françaises (4).
32. Palais Royal ; Butte des Moulins ; Montagne (2).
33. Place Louis XIV. ; Mail ; Petits Pères ; Guillaume Tell (3).
34. Place Royale ; Fédérés ; Indivisibilité (8).
35. Place Vendôme ; Piques (1).
36. Poissonnière (3).
37. Ponceau ; Amis de la Patrie (6).
38. Popincourt (8).
39. Postes ; Contrat Social (3).
40. Quatre Nations ; Unité (10).
41. Quinze-Vingts (8).
42. Rue du Roi de Sicile ; Droits de l'Homme (7).
43. Roule ; République (1).
44. St. Geneviève ; Panthéon (12).
45. Temple (6).
46. Théâtre Français ; Marseille ; Marat (11).
47. Thermes de Julien ; Beaurepaire ; Régénérée ; Chalier (11).
48. Tuileries (1).

Of the general meetings but few records are preserved at the National Archives or the Prefecture of Police. The

proceedings must have consisted mostly of harangues, for if the pulpit was silenced, the rostrum was active; but the clubs eclipsed the sectional meetings, especially when in proximity. Robespierre, indeed, was president of the Place Vendôme section in November 1792, when it declared its want of confidence in Roland, and protested against the abolition of the numbering of assignats, on the ground that this gave employment to a staff of clerks. But that section must have been insignificant alongside the Jacobin club, as also the Théâtre Français section alongside the Cordeliers. The attendance at sectional meetings was doubtless largest when office-bearers had to be elected. About 600 persons voted at an election of the revolutionary committee in Bibliothèque section, and in Arcis 466 votes were on one occasion cast, but in the Invalides in June 1794 an election mustered only 135 voters. Florian, the fabulist, who, to conciliate the Jacobins, wrote some revolutionary verses,¹ but was ultimately imprisoned, was a speaker at the Halle-au-Blé meetings. The notorious marquis de Sade was for a time secretary of Place Vendôme section. There he pronounced a eulogium on Marat and Lepelletier, and drew up a petition for the dedication of the disused churches to Reason and Virtue, the section printing a thousand copies of it.² Duelling was discussed and denounced in Place Louis XIV. section. Certificates of "civism" seem to have been sometimes applied for at general meetings, as a substitute for, or preliminary to, appearance before the Revolutionary Committee. So also with certificates of poverty, with a view to relief from the Charity Committee. Numerous cases of this kind appear in the Arcis register. The power of withholding a certificate of civism, or *carte de sûreté*, was vested in the sections as well as in the Commune, and in the Thermes section we find eleven ex-nuns in a batch making

¹ *Les Muses Sans-Culottes*, 30 germinal, an 2.

² He was imprisoned at the Carmelites and at St. Lazare. On his release he repudiated his wife, who had shown great devotion to him, though her affectionate letters evoked contumelious or reproachful replies. Napoleon subsequently consigned him to Bicêtre, among the lunatics.

such an application. After the 6th July 1794, moreover, four witnesses to character were required for obtaining a card. Ticket-holders alone could attend the general meetings, and ex-nobles, by a decree of the 16th April 1794, were expressly excluded. A conversation in the antechamber of the Revolutionary Tribunal, reported by an "observer of public opinion,"¹ informs us that if at the Place Vendôme meetings a citizen made a proposal not acceptable to clubbists, they, even though only ten in number, raised a clamour, denounced the speaker as an intriguer, and silenced all opposition. Sometimes, moreover, according to Thuriot,² the Jacobins went early, passed resolutions, informed the later comers that the business had been transacted, and then carried these resolutions to other sections as having been unanimously adopted. No wonder if quiet citizens kept away, so that appeals had to be issued urging a better attendance. If Taine is right in estimating the Jacobin mob at 5000 or 6000, the average number of Jacobins in each section would have been about 120, but some sections were much more violent than others. Still it is clear that in general the majority of the inhabitants were coerced by a noisy minority, whose rude signatures may be seen in petitions for the execution of Louis XVI.³

If the Jacobins thus had their hired brawlers, let us not forget that in February 1791, as shown by the iron cupboard papers, an elaborate plan was submitted to Louis XVI. for hiring speakers, speech composers, applauders, and observers (spies) in the sections and battalions, as also stump-orators (*motionnaires*) and applauders at cafés, concerts, public gardens, and workshops. Fifteen hundred in number, their salaries were to vary from 3000 francs a month for speakers to 50 francs for factory operatives. The total outlay was to be 200,000 francs a month. There is no indication of this scheme having been adopted, but the King's endorsement shows that he examined it, and an

¹ Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution*, ii. 201.

² *Moniteur*, xxi. 556.

³ M. 665.

amended scheme, reduced to 100,000 francs a month, was prepared for him.

We must not imagine, however, that the proceedings were all sound and fury, signifying massacre and pillage. The minutes of the Invalides show some curious incidents. Thus on the 10th June 1794 a man having been appointed gendarme, stated that he had no means of dressing becomingly, whereupon one citizen offered him a coat and trousers, and another a second coat. Some days previously the meeting had nominated ten old men, ten matrons, ten boys and ten girls between fourteen and eighteen, and ten children under eight (called *adolescents*!), to be escorted by a commissary to the "Fête de l'Éternel." Accordingly on the eve of the festival the girls and boys attended the meeting by way of rehearsal and sang hymns. The president, at the desire of the section, kissed them all round.

The sections, moreover, like the Commune, were waited upon by children, who recited Republican compositions, and this continued even after Robespierre's fall. At Fontaine de Grenelle, on the 18th February 1795, three little girls, the youngest under four, and several boys, delivered an oration with an unction surprising at their tender age. Several other boys and girls had likewise announced the delivery of speeches, but as the sitting had begun late they could not be heard. On the 8th July 1795, however, patriotic recitations were given, probably by this disappointed party, a boy of seven reciting a speech with the emphasis of an adult.¹ A Venetian who, at a general meeting, had attacked a public functionary was ordered to be sent to the Revolutionary Tribunal for creating a disturbance. He had been fetched, and was waiting in the anteroom to be interrogated, when, the attendant being despatched on an errand, he seized the opportunity of decamping. He was, however, recaptured and sent to La Force. The two sentries were punished with a week's imprisonment for negligence. Boys were

¹F. 7, 2509.

admitted to the Poissonnière meetings, held first in the Royal Mews chapel and afterwards in St. Lazare church, in order to learn patriotism. The gallery was assigned to women, for in April 1792 the section had begun to admit women, either to the floor or to the galleries, but on the 23rd May 1795 the Convention ordered their exclusion. A girl of seven recited the Declaration of the Rights of Man to this Poissonnière section.

Some of the sections were in the hands, at least for a time, of the Moderates. Eight of them—Tuileries, Palais Royal, Postes, Fontaine Montmorency, Faubourg Montmartre, Thermes, St. Geneviève, and Jardin des Plantes—refused, in July 1792, to petition for the King's deposition, albeit signatures of sections were sometimes obtained by their being assured that all the others had already signed. The Thermes in the summer of 1793 twice protested against domiciliary visits and arbitrary arrests. The Bibliothèque, to which Brissot belonged, was the richest quarter of Paris, and its battalion was the only one which was faithful to Louis XVI. on 10th August 1792. After the Terror it was reactionary, and it headed the rising of Vendémiaire (October 1795), yet after the King's death it petitioned the Convention to separate the poor little Dauphin from his mother and aunt. Alas! such separations had frequently been undergone for a century by Huguenot children. Among its members also was Philidor, the music composer, who, as he had shown in London in February 1791, could play chess blindfolded, which was then considered a marvellous feat. His father had been kettledrummer to the King, and his whole family were apparently on the pension list till 1790, four of them women, and the other two, Jean Danican and Claude, drawing respectively 200 francs and 150 francs. Claude in 1791-92 was one of the librarians of the Assembly. On the other hand, some sections were from the first Jacobinical. As early as March 11, 1792, Croix Rouge petitioned the Convention to tax the King like other citizens. It was told that this was already the law applied to all public functionaries. Poissonnière,

invited to a service in St. Laurent for the assailants of the Tuileries on the 10th August 1792, declined to attend until the statues of the glorious martyrs of liberty occupied the shrines of St. Crispin and St. Cucufin. In May 1793 the Moderates gained the upper hand in Mauconseil section, and, as also the Lombards section, sent a deputation to the Convention, but both deputations were arrested by the Commune. After Thermidor the Moderates of course resumed attendance, and in some cases got the ascendancy, so that in October 1795 the Convention had to employ Barras, and Barras employed Bonaparte, in putting down those which had protested against its usurpation in requiring two-thirds of its members to be re-elected.

The Place Royale section was one of the most extreme. On the 18th February 1794 it adopted at a general meeting, on the motion of Balny, a long memorial to the Convention against the indulgences allowed to prisoners. It described them as feasting on meat, game, fowls, delicious wines, and choice fruits, while innocent citizens were on short commons, and as amusing themselves with concerts, plays, promenades (*sic*), equivocal interviews, and illicit conversations. Husbands, wives, children, friends, agents, besieged the gates, some driving up in carriages, and passed the whole day inside in unrestricted intercourse, without being searched on arrival or departure. So content were the prisoners with their lot that if they were not already there they would readily enter as lodgers these "voluptuous and sensual palaces." The memorial urged that they should be transported, or else have their property sequestrated till two years after the conclusion of peace, that they should not be allowed to receive visitors, that they should live on 3 francs a day, all messing together and no extra diet being allowed, and that half a pound of meat should be the daily ration. Taking off a large discount for exaggeration, it is clear that until latterly some of the prisons were by no means disagreeable dwellings, and according to Hermann, judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal, two hundred companions or servants were permitted to

live in them. The memorial was presented to the Convention by twenty-four citizens, and two citizens were sent to each of the other sections with a printed copy of it. The committee of this section were arrested in the spring of 1794 on the complaint of the president, for usurpation, atheism, and other misdemeanours. Robespierre, who ordered the arrest, had, however, to defend his act before the Public Safety Committee, which seems to have decreed their liberation.

A fortnight before Robespierre's fall several sections resolved on "fraternal repasts." Neighbours in groups set their tables in the street and made a common stock of their provisions. The Halle-au-Blé section fixed 7.30 P.M. as the hour of these gatherings, and it was alleged (but this is denied) to have ordered the closing of shops at 4.30 in order to facilitate them.¹ But these love-feasts were promptly suppressed, Payan denouncing them in the Commune, and Barère in the Convention, as Dantonist Hébertist intrigues. Garnier Launay, in an abject apology to Robespierre for having advocated them, states that he witnessed these *agapæ* in the rue Caumartin and the rue des Capucines. Hanriot, in his daily general orders to the National Guards, had begun by warmly applauding these repasts, but had also to retract. On the 11th June 1794 he says: "I saw last night fraternal repasts in nearly all the sections. Free men, you have no need of praise. Love of country, equality, fraternity, your self-satisfaction, fill your hearts. Cherish the recollection of your virtuous moments to your last breath." Five days later he deprecates toasts to individuals at these gatherings. "Such good wishes should embrace all virtuous men, all friends of liberty and equality, all members of the one great family. Nothing is grander than to toast the defenders of the country beloved and of the laws cherished by you." But next day he says: "I hope that the period of repasts is over. Pure republicans have been scandalised by indecorums not befitting free

¹ F. 7, 4437.

men. Be wiser in future. Let us be decent, and be guided by reason."¹

The Jardin des Plantes section resolved on the 4th December 1792 that the word *vous* should be abolished as a remnant of feudalism, besides being contrary to common sense; *tu* alone was worthy of free men. In Poissonnière section a citizen proposed the disuse of the word "régiment," because it was derived from *rex*, but the general meeting dismissed this as childish.²

Of the operations of the Charity (Bienfaisance) and Civil committees, we have little information, for their minutes have not been preserved. These would have thrown light on the poverty and semi-famine which largely account for Jacobin troubles. The Charity committees in the winter of 1793 issued appeals for subscriptions. They also invited contributions for the equipment of volunteers for Vendée, and for sending shoes and other necessities to the army. The *citoyennes* de Broglie, accompanied by their governess, on applying to the Champs Élysées Revolutionary Committee for a passport (October 27, 1793), offered a contribution for the Vendée campaign, recruiting for which had been opened in the previous May, that is to say, for the war against their own friends. Malingering, however, was not unknown among conscripts required to fight on the wrong side. The Thermes committee appointed a doctor to examine pleas of illness or infirmity. All young men between eighteen and twenty-five were liable to serve, but some, to evade this, shifted their quarters from one section to another, or procured forged passports for quitting Paris. Others, it was even alleged, after joining their battalions, deliberately contracted skin diseases in order to be discharged.³ Sometimes, too, there was actual mutiny. The presidents of sections, by a circular of April 30, 1793, were directed to warn conscripts that if they refused to start they would be escorted by

¹ *Journal de la Montagne*.

² Seine Archives, Register Poissonnière.

³ *Moniteur*, xviii. 483.

gendarmes to their regiments. Near Cherbourg, on the 22nd November 1793, the Tuileries, Champ Élysées, and Invalides battalions mutinied, and their mothers in Paris had to pretend that they wished their sons to be well punished. Three conscripts of the Tuileries battalion were said to have shown their royalism at Caen by singing "Oh Richard, oh mon roi." Out of ninety-nine on the roll of the Place Royale battalion, only fifty responded to the call. Santerre, the brewer-general, complained, too, of the number of deserters from the Vendée army. Some had probably gone over to the Vendéans. Yet many young men were perhaps glad to escape Jacobin rule in Paris by joining the army, and the Revolutionary Committees got rid of moderates, merchants' clerks and others, by drafting them off to Vendée.

Let us now return to the Revolutionary Committees, which, though ostensibly chosen by the general meetings of the sections, were frequently nominated by a noisy minority. By the refusal of civic cards, moreover, the general meetings, as we have seen, could be purged of Moderates. Vacancies, too, from resignation or death, were frequently filled up by co-option, and on the 5th September 1793 the Commune was empowered by the Convention to remodel the committees, the latter to have power to arrest suspects without the intervention of any other authority. This practice was condemned by the General Security Committee in December 1793,¹ but without effect. These bodies, indeed, when once formed, underwent very little control either from the sections at large or the Commune. They were, so to speak, demagogue oligarchy, men, sometimes of the lowest class, invested with arbitrary power and behaving like the proverbial beggar on horseback.² They were, however, amenable

¹ A. D. ii.* 294.

² The register of the revolutionary committee at Troyes (Arch. Nat., F. 7, 4421) shows how in the provinces, just as in Paris, the inhabitants had to apply for certificates of civism. Some were refused as being fanatics, aristocrats, "egotists," or disguised Moderates. The Troyes committee received numerous denunciations, made many arrests, and levied arbitrary contributions.

to the General Security Committee, which filled up vacancies in their ranks.¹

The work, a combination of the functions of vestrymen, magistrates, and policemen, was sometimes so heavy that a committee divided itself into two, so that each member might not have to attend daily. The bulk of their proceedings consists of the interrogation of suspects, inquiries—sometimes very minute and painstaking—into denunciations, the exchange of communications with other Parisian, and also with provincial, sections as to suspects and offenders, and applications for relief from the expense of a warder by persons confined in their own houses. Applications for civic cards were frequently adjourned for further inquiry. The committee did not require spacious buildings. Two rooms, one an antechamber, were sufficient for twelve commissaries.² In Beaubourg section an arm-chair was bought for the president, and it was to be raised above the chairs of the other members. A dagger also was to be placed on the table in front of him. Doorkeepers and messengers were necessary, and in this capacity women seem at times to have been employed, for in August 1795, that is to say after the Terror, the committees were forbidden to employ women as *garçons de bureau*.³ The accumulation of papers became considerable, and we hear of a committee appropriating the mansion of the duc d'Uzès for the stowage of them. The red caps could be hung on pegs, if they were universally worn, as would appear from a resolution of the Lombards committee (February 7, 1794) that the red caps which had been purchased should be left behind by outgoing members for their successors. The sittings were in the evening, so as not to interfere with means of livelihood, for the allowance of 5 francs a day in depreciated paper currency could not otherwise have sufficed, and they frequently lasted till midnight.

¹ See Mellié, *Sections de Paris*.

² I use the word commissary (*commissaire*) for a member of the committee in preference to the uncouth term committeeman.

³ *Archives de la Seine*.

Entering into detail of the operations of the committees, I confine myself in general to the period of the Terror, and I begin with the arrests of English residents as of special interest to English readers. In the autumn of 1793 the Revolutionary Committees were directed to apprehend British and Hanoverian subjects as hostages for the members of the Convention captured at Toulon.¹ Those who had come to France before the 14th July 1789 were exempt, and indeed were placed on the roll of electors, for this was the case with Henry Sykes, jeweller in the rue St. Honoré, maternal ancestor of the Waddingtons. Men who had been employed in French factories for six months were likewise exempt, as also school children under twelve, and older children, provided the persons with whom they lodged vouched for their civism. It was easy to discover these Britons, for in July 1791 a census of foreigners had been taken, and every householder, as we have seen,² had more recently been ordered to post a list of inmates outside his door. Accordingly on the 10th October the Place Vendôme committee, dividing itself into six sub-committees, went the round in search of prey. Among the prisoners³ was Richard Chenevix, nephew of the Bishop of Waterford, a youth of nineteen destined to be an eminent mineralogist, a friend of Sir Joseph Banks, and one of the earliest contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*. He was living in the rue Neuve des Maturins, and on the 7th May 1794, while still a prisoner, he presented to the section his oats and hay, having apparently sold his horse, so that he had no use for fodder. A John Campbell, also

¹ On the 8th Sept. thirteen Irish students, Cruise, Foley, MacMahon, Fitzpatrick, MacCurtin, Molony, Murphy, O'Berne, MacKenna, O'Carroll, Minorty, O'Ronan, and Diggon presented the Convention with an address deprecating this measure. They urged that the Irish colleges had been founded by refugees, that the students were preparing to earn a livelihood, that they sympathised with the Revolution, and that but for the English yoke Ireland would eagerly follow the example of France (C. 271).

² See p. 130.

³ At first taken to the sectional lock-up they were consigned to the Luxembourg, which thus on the 15th Oct. had ninety-seven inmates, mostly English. They were, however, after a very short time relegated to various other prisons.

arrested, seems to have been his servant, for on the 25th April 1794 he obtained leave to remove his few effects to Chenevix's house, as he was unable to continue paying rent for his lodgings. There was also a man named Arkwright, with his wife and ten-year-old daughter. The girl, indeed, was properly exempt, but, having no one to take charge of her, she was conducted to the section headquarters until a house of detention had been provided.¹ Fortunately Arkwright was able on the 8th January to prove that as an artisan he was entitled to exemption, and he and his wife were released.

The commissaries evidently did not err on the side of leniency in considering exemptions, for they arrested the widow of Colonel Dromgold²—Dr. Johnson spent a pleasant afternoon in 1775 with Dromgold, then head of the Military School—but she too was liberated on the 26th November, on proving that her husband was born at St. Étienne in 1715. While, moreover, the French wife or widow of an Englishman was considered English, the English wife of a Frenchman was illogically regarded as having retained her nationality. Jean Goebel, on the 11th October 1793, vainly presented himself with his three children before the Convention to plead for the release of his English wife. He stated that she had been six years in France, that being himself disabled from work she had supported the whole family, and urged that she might at least be allowed to remain in the house under guard to give birth to a fourth child. The Convention declined to interfere.³ An Englishman named Billington could not speak French, and as the commissaries could not understand English they sent him to the General Security Committee. Even doctors

¹ Belanger, an architect and landscape gardener, complained that a house which he had let out in flats was seized upon by the Place Vendôme section, which turned out the occupants and crowded sixty-three English into it. He was threatened that if he remonstrated he would himself be arrested.

² Dromgold went to London in 1761 as secretary to the duc de Nivernais, the French ambassador. His wife, who had charming manners, was an excellent amateur actress. Horace Walpole renewed acquaintance with them in Paris.

³ C. 275.

were arrested, for three English practitioners, whose names are given as Lagny, Delany, and Oromain (Horsman?), were arrested by Thermes section, and though several citizens interceded for them the Committee declined to release them without consulting the General Security Committee. Dr. O'Neil, on account of his age, was allowed for a time to remain under guard at the Eudist monastery, but in July 1794 was consigned to the Luxembourg. Yet doctors, even if natives of countries at war with France, should have been left undisturbed if still in practice. Edward Slater, who had imprudently signed the petition against the muster of 20,000 National Guards near Paris, was arrested with his wife and stepdaughters, Mary and Rosamund Perkins. He protested that he was a member of a Radical society in London, and had contributed to the patriotic fund for the French army. The whole family were prisoners at their lodgings, with a warder. After a time the warder was withdrawn, and the landlord became surety, the seals on their effects being removed; but the seals were replaced, and not again removed till the 17th November 1794. Nicholas Joyce and Christopher White, cotton-spinners, had at first been exempted as tradesmen, but having been denounced, their papers were examined and they were ultimately arrested. Joyce died on the 23rd February 1794 at the Benedictine monastery, leaving three girls, the eldest only fourteen. Taylor, apparently a friend, waited on Observatory section to hand over eleven letters belonging to Joyce, and the section agreed to write to the Minister of the Interior respecting the maintenance of the children, who were inmates of various prisons till the following December. Ten students of the Irish College were placed under guard at the college. One of them was Thomas MacKenna, who had been eight years in France, and who in 1791, placing himself, pistol in hand, at the gate, had prevented a mob from breaking into the building. Two of his comrades, MacSheehy and Currey, wishing to join the French navy, the Observatory section resolved on recommending them to the

Government. We shall hear of MacSheehy again.¹ Another student, O'Carroll, was liberated on the assurance of Kearney, the head of the college, that he had discharged his civic duties. The Lepelletier section found that several Englishmen had taken flight. One of those remaining, Sir John Lambert, Bart., a banker, produced letters of naturalisation dated 1762, but nevertheless was eventually imprisoned—perhaps as a banker, for that calling was peculiarly obnoxious to the Jacobins, to whom traffic in stocks and quotations of specie were an abomination. I doubt, indeed, whether a single banker who remained in Paris escaped arrest.

Even Englishwomen who had married Frenchmen were not spared. Louis Calas, a descendant of the Protestant victim of Toulouse, vainly petitioned the Convention for the release of his English wife, "whose only fault was having been born among a people hostile to the rights of mankind." Calas had spent twenty-five years in England, returning to France at the Revolution in the hope that better days had dawned for her. The Convention nevertheless "passed to the orders of the day,"² yet surely such a woman was entitled to claim French citizenship.

Some sections, however, were more forbearing than others. Thus an Englishwoman named Thompson, arrested by the Gravilliers section and imprisoned in one of the British convents, was on the eve of her confinement. On the 31st October 1793 the Quinze-Vingts section made representations in her favour to Gravilliers. The latter commended this humane intervention, and directed that she should be taken back to her hotel in the rue du Temple and remain there under guard till her delivery. This implies that commissaries visited the prisons in their sections, or else that the jailors sent information to them. The committees even claimed jurisdiction over jailors whose prisons were situated within their section. Thus the Observatory section called Haly to account for

¹ See p. 343.

² C. 275.

employing a prisoner to keep his books, and for allowing visits and extra fare. Yet Haly was arrested after Thermidor as a Robespierriist. That section likewise, on the 12th October 1793, forbade the English prisoners at the Benedictine monastery to receive visitors, or to write letters except in French, and these only for obtaining necessities. Archdeacon, who had come to Paris from Douai, was arrested; but Kellet, of the Benedictine monastery, vouched that he had been five years at Douai and had come solely on college business. Kellet was allowed as bail for him pending inquiry, and Archdeacon eventually received a passport for Douai. An Englishwoman named Jackson, housekeeper to the Countess de Mirepoix (who had fled to England, and whose husband was awaiting the guillotine), was arrested, released, and re-arrested by the Halle section.¹

Nor were the committees sparing in the exercise of their power of arresting suspects. The *Journal de Paris* shows, especially from May 1793 to March 1794, the swelling crowd of inmates in every prison. "Incivism" was the usual accusation, but in not a few instances, with conscious or unconscious irony, we read "no reason assigned." Harmand de la Meuse, a deputy, vouches in his *Anecdotes de la Révolution*, for the fact that Mlle. de Chabannes, aged eleven, was arrested, according to the committee's list, "pour avoir sucé le lait aristocratique de sa mère." Her mother, also a prisoner, and probably an admirer of Rousseau, had indeed suckled her. The Place Vendôme committee arrested Clavière, who was persecuted to death by one of its members, Arthur. At Arthur's instance it also pressed at the beginning of 1793 for

¹ The English were mostly released in the autumn of 1794. On the 26th Sept. James Gamble, Louis Masquérier, James Hartley, Thomas Arkwright, and A. Howatson, petitioned the Convention for the release of their countrymen, and this was followed up by a memorial from fourteen prisoners, Este, S. Mosse, Rowles, Mowat, Thos. Gattie, Hugh Massey, Ralph Jarvis, Thos Fidler, Geo. Maskell, J. Billson, Thos. Packman, Wm. Hill, James, and Lynch. (AF. ii. 29.) If Monroe had not arrived in Aug. 1794 and claimed Paine's release as an American he might perhaps have been liberated as an Englishman.

the arrest and trial of Lamarche, formerly entrusted with the manufacture of *assignats*. Lamarche was the fellow victim whom Madame Roland wished to be executed first, that he might not be unnerved by witnessing her death. From the autumn of that year, however, the committee was, with some exceptions, disposed to listen to reasonable requests. It declined, indeed (December 8), to intercede for the release of the notorious de Sade, and it refused to allow a man-servant to go and see his captive master unless he chose to share his imprisonment. It likewise declined to endorse a request from the Bibliothèque section that prisoners should be treated leniently. Yet it had itself, on the 16th October, petitioned the Convention to release persons arrested simply on account of their former position, but ascertained to be good citizens; and on the 26th November it resolved that arrests should not be made on anonymous or unwritten denunciations. It also allowed the Princess of Monaco, *citoyenne* Grimaldi, as she styled herself, divorced wife of Joseph, second son of the reigning prince (she had adroitly presented it with a hundred muskets), to be a prisoner in her own house on the ground of ill-health, a plea verified by two of its commissaries and by a surgeon (November 3, 1793). It even removed the seals from her property, though it refused (January 10, 1794) to liberate her, which liberation she had claimed as the wife of an Italian.¹ Permission was given to Lacoste, a surgeon, to visit the house of detention

¹ The principality had been annexed to France, together with Savoy and Nice. The Place Vendôme register says nothing more of her, but hearing that she was to be haled to prison she escaped from her house, took refuge for a time with a female friend, then, fearing to compromise that friend, she went into the country, but ultimately returned to Paris and was arrested. On the 10th June 1794 she was sent to the Conciergerie for trial, on the 26th July she was condemned to death, and she was executed on the 27th, being one of the last batch of victims. Twenty-four hours' grace would have saved this unfortunate princess, but the doctor had certified that morning that her plea of pregnancy and that of two other women were unfounded. She is said to have rouged before starting for the scaffold, that if she turned pale it might not be detected and attributed to fear, but I doubt whether rouge was obtainable at the Conciergerie. Her father-in-law, Honoré (seventy-three years of age), although he had not protested against the annexation of his territory, but had quietly remained in Paris,

and render all the succour required by humanity (December 5, 1793). The wife and mother of Lecouteulx were allowed to visit him in prison, as also were *citoyenne* Dibove's children (February 3, 1794). Davrauge was permitted, accompanied by a sentry, to go to public baths, but not until a doctor had certified that he required them (July 22). The section made many domiciliary visits in search of arms, and it had many requests for the withdrawal of sentries from persons unable to bear the expense.

The Observatory section was very considerate in such cases. Indeed, in May and June 1793 there were complaints that the aristocrats (read Moderates) had got the upper hand in several sections, had changed the committees, and had insulted "patriots." The Mail Revolutionary Committee strenuously pleaded for the release of the innocent. On the 5th June 1793 it resolved that "suspect" was so vague a term as to lead to the oppression of good citizens, that there ought to be a stricter definition, and that political opinions should not render a man a suspect unless he had employed illegal means of enforcing them. It pledged itself to do its utmost for the release of persons illegally arrested, and to assist even those legally apprehended as far as law and humanity allowed until they were proved guilty. Again, on the 11th June the section sent a deputation to the Commune to plead for the release of all persons arrested on mere suspicion. Chaumette, however, told them that they had been duped by the reactionaries, but that he hoped in four days to make this section one of the most fanatical (*enragé*) in Paris. He shook hands with and flattered them, and the Commune directed some of its members to go and reinstate the old Revolutionary Committee which had been dismissed for having made illegal arrests (June 8, 1793).¹

where he had presented horses and money for the equipment of volunteers, was arrested in Sept. 1793. Petitioning the Convention for release, he stated that his courtyard and stables were full of carts and horses also intended for volunteers.

¹ *Moniteur*, xvi. 597; Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution*, ii. 26.

On the 21st June the committee complained that persons against whom no proofs existed had been liberated on bail, whereas they ought either to have been brought to trial or released unconditionally.¹ It resolved that in case of fresh arrests a general meeting of the section should be immediately convened, and a deputation was sent to the General Security Committee to ask for the repeal of the law against suspects as giving "too dangerous a latitude to mistake or malice." Yet this very section arrested a lawyer named Mousnier, who, to oblige a friend, had asked it to hand over 50 francs to a relative imprisoned in the lock-up, and despite his plea that he was a born *sans-culotte*, he was condemned with the Luxembourg batch of victims.

The Tuileries committee, on the other hand, was by turns rigorous and lenient. In September 1793 it drew up a list of seventy-three suspects to be arrested, while forty-one other persons were to be disarmed, and four to be watched. Among the arrested was the whole Noailles family and Volney. The Noailles were mostly guillotined. Volney, who had pondered over the ruins of Palmyra and now witnessed the destruction of the French monarchy, was arrested on account of his intimacy with Lafayette, but his manuscripts were found to be patriotic in tone. It was further urged that when visiting Corsica he had shunned Paoli, and that he had lost an estate by the Vendée insurrection. The committee consequently twice (December 31, 1793, and January 10, 1794) petitioned the Public Safety Committee for his release; but he was nevertheless detained till after the fall of Robespierre. Lucia, a bookseller, being ill, was allowed by the committee (February 9, 1794) to remain in his own house, watched by "two good *sans-culottes*, fathers of families," and this continued till his death on the 24th May.

In April 1794 the committees had to grant passports to ex-nobles and foreigners forbidden during the war to

¹ In the Panthéon section numerous persons were discharged on bail. (F. 7, 2522.)

reside in Paris, in fortified towns, or in ports. Unpleasant as Paris had become, people doubtless fancied that if they remained in the city they might by bribery obtain interviews with their incarcerated friends or relatives. Anyhow they had stayed in order to be near them. Driven from Paris, they now sought refuge in the suburbs. George Sand's father, then a youth of sixteen, took lodgings at Auteuil, he and his captive mother agreeing at a fixed hour daily to gaze at the dome of the Panthéon and think of each other. The suburban authorities, whether from interest or humanity, favoured these refugees. At Neuilly the villagers spoke of them as better than their persecutors.¹ At Passy, gatherings of ex-nobles, according to a complaint of the Roi de Sicile section, had been permitted, for which the village authorities were reprimanded by the General Security Committee. The Auteuil section remonstrated against the arrest of Madame de Boufflers, and vouched for her patriotism, but its appeal was ineffectual, and she saved her life only by monthly bribes to Fouquier Tinville.

As for the Paris sections, even if they were inclined to leniency, their committees were being constantly stirred up by the Commune or by the General Security Committee. Stricter watch over strangers was enjoined on the 28th March 1794, and a list of parents of *émigrés* inhabiting the section was ordered on the 21st April. The committees were also required to furnish a daily report on victualling and stockjobbing. It is but fair to the Convention committees, however, to say that they strove to check section abuses by requiring lists of persons detained in lock-ups and guard-houses, and by appointing on the 14th May 1794, a so-called "popular commission," which was to prepare a list of suspects, so that the committees might release the innocent and remit the others to the Revolutionary Tribunal. But it is not easy to say how far this step was actuated by humanity or how far by the extreme difficulty of finding sufficient prison accommodation.

¹ F. 7, 4437.

It would have been strange if the arbitrary powers of the Revolutionary Committees had not been abused, and of such abuses some curious examples may be cited. The districts, indeed, had set the example of tyranny, for in 1790 the clergy and churchwardens of St. Nicolas du Chardonnet protested before the Ecclesiastical Committee of the National Assembly against an order of the district that plain, and not short-bread should be used at the Sunday high mass as *pain bénit*, that no tapers should be ranged round it, and that the taper held by the distributor of the bread should be of a specific weight. The petitioners urged that the tapers belonged to the church, that they were utilised in low masses, and that there had hitherto been no complaint against a practice which had prevailed for centuries.¹

As the Revolution advanced petty tyranny increased. Antoine Georget, who had retired from a wholesale grocery in the parish of St. Eustache, had taken a house with more than an acre of garden stocked with fruit trees, in the rue du faubourg St. Denis. He had been in England, and his knowledge of England may account for Thomas Paine and several of his friends becoming his lodgers. On the night of the 29th November 1793 Paine heard a knock at the gate, and looking out of his bedroom window saw Georget going with a candle to see what was wanted. Georget himself was wanted, and was carried off to Bicêtre, which, like the Salpêtrière, was usually devoted to ordinary criminals, but the prisons were so crowded that discrimination had become difficult. Georget was accused of lodging Paine and other Englishmen and of never mounting guard in his section. He could not plead age in excuse, for he was only forty-eight, but he alleged that ill-health obliged him to send a substitute. It was even asserted, but without a shadow of proof, that he had fled to England in 1787 because he had embezzled from the church poor-box, whereas his accounts had then been duly audited. But he had started banking, and all bankers, as we have seen, were

¹ A.D. xix, 67.

suspects. On the 31st December he was transferred to the Carmelite monastery, and while there, in February 1794, he received tidings that commissaries had visited his garden and given orders that the trees should be felled and potatoes and beans planted. This step was probably inspired by a resolution of the Public Safety Committee (19th February) that portions of the Tuileries and Luxembourg gardens should be planted with potatoes, which were then scarce and dear. A Rural Economy Society, moreover, had stirred up the sections to require ornamental to be turned into kitchen gardens, and some of the sections had appointed "agricultural committees" for this purpose. Georget addressed an appeal to the Commune, and the result was a sharp reprimand to the commissaries. A notice was issued by the Commune to the effect that the large gardens of aristocrats and lazy monks had not yet expiated by useful culture their former scandalous use, but that pending measures for this object domiciliary visits ought not to be paid by malicious persons in order to make such measures appear vexatious. People who tore up a fruit tree on pretence of planting a cabbage knew this to be a certain way of deprivation of both. Fruit trees were requisite, as well as vegetables, and must be allowed time to bear. The committee of Georget's section thereupon, in a tone of injured innocence, complained that the Commune had credited a charge which was totally unfounded; but some of its members must have acted in the way described. Let us hope that Georget, when released on the 24th September 1794, found his garden undisturbed. The Commune itself, however, had discussions on the utilisation of pleasure gardens, and only two days after issuing the above notice warned persons whose gardens did not produce in the coming season an ample crop of roots or other vegetables that they were to be treated as suspects. This warning was repeated on the 9th March.

Even diplomatic privileges were not always respected, and an attempt was made to carry off the register of

marriages and deaths kept at the Swedish embassy by chaplain Gambs.

A deputation from St. Maur complained to the Convention on the 12th August 1794 that Montreuil commissaries went thither to arrest a man. Finding him dead, they apprehended his brother-in-law on the *cy-près* principle, and forced the widow to pay 10 francs, as also 100 francs for their large potatoes. In like manner the Beaubourg section ordered a citizen to remove a crown which figured on a picture-frame, and a small fleur-de-lis affixed to a child's cradle. The Roi de Sicile section also required the removal of a bell-pull on a first story which showed a fleur-de-lis. This proves that what a Parisian did in his bed-chamber might be proclaimed on the housetops. But the committees sometimes struck at higher game. On the 4th January 1794 the Marais section, with the approval of the Paris municipality, marched to Nogent to take down the church bells, arrest the priest, and seal up his "shop" (*boutique*) so as to put an end to his noxious influence on the fanatical inhabitants. This invasion and usurpation of authority seems extraordinary even in the Terror. The committees of the Convention occasionally checked such abuse of power, for they annulled, in October 1793, a resolution of forty-three sections to institute domiciliary visits in order not only to search for foreigners, deserters, and arms, but to seize and confiscate stores of bread exceeding two days' consumption and other edibles in excess of immediate necessities.¹

The committees were besieged with applications by or on behalf of prisoners. It is touching to hear of a woman asking the permission of Thermes section to adopt a girl of twelve, her parents having apparently emigrated, and the schoolmaster to whom she had been entrusted having been arrested. It is lamentable, on the other hand, to find delation incited or encouraged. On the 19th July 1794 the Place Vendôme committee resolved on withholding civic cards from those connected with suspects or guillotined

¹ Mellié, *Sections de Paris*.

persons, unless they proved their patriotism by denouncing the abuses committed in such households. This evidently refers to servants, who were thus required to inform against their employers. Lendormy, the Rolands' laundryman, was summoned, for instance, before the Gobelins section on the 18th September 1793 as being likely to know Roland's whereabouts. He replied that he still washed for Madame Roland, but did not go to St. Pélagie, where she was imprisoned, but to her house, where the cook gave him the linen. He knew nothing of Roland's movements. A hairdresser, moreover, went to the Thermes committee in September 1793 to announce his intention of getting admission into Moderate clubs by simulated sympathy, and thus worming out their secrets. He thought it prudent to give this notice, lest his conduct should be misconstrued. It would have been a consolation to learn that, caught in his own trap, he was imprisoned as a Moderate. Delators in the majority of cases were illiterate, and, as the minutes inform us, could not sign their names. They do not as in England make their marks. At the Observatory section there was an open book, in which, as in the lion's mouth at Venice which visitors are still shown, denunciations could be deposited. Sometimes one section made a denunciation to another, and two committees in concert would arrest a suspect who happened to be in one section but belonged to another.

It is only fair to say that many denunciations after careful inquiry were dismissed. Here are some specimens of the interrogatories, in which a humorous element was not always lacking.

New Year's day was still observed, for the Jacobin New Year's day, the 1st Vendémiaire (22nd September), never obtained recognition; but Twelfth day (*Jour des Rois*) was not allowed to be celebrated. On the 6th January 1794, at the suggestion of the Hôtel-de-Ville section, which had arrested several confectioners for selling *gâteaux-de-roi*, the Commune ordered a general search of confectioners' shops, so as to detect "orgies

in honour of the tyrant's (Louis XVI.'s) ghost." Next day, accordingly, a confectioner named Goriot, in Quatre Nations section, was apprehended for selling such cakes, "thus tending to fanaticism and servile adulation." On being questioned by the police officer he stated that he had been accustomed to make the cakes, but that they were now called *gâteaux sans-culottes*. Many citizens amused themselves by drawing lots for the bean (symbol of the King), the winner generally paying for a bottle of wine. Customers had entered his shop, exclaiming, "It is sans-culotte fête, we must amuse ourselves." He knew that yesterday, the 17th Nivose, was the 6th January old style, but he knew nothing about this except that it was a sans-culotte festival. The police officer, thinking the man's answers evasive, sent him to the Luxembourg, pending the consideration of the case by the section. The committee sent word that though Goriot was not an ardent patriot he had punctually performed his duties as a National Guard, and that the month's detention had been more than ample punishment. He was therefore released. Even as late as January 1799 a member of the Council of Elders sneered at the observance of New Year's day and Twelfth day. "Among the crowned heads," he said, "there are several who may soon be merely bean-kings, and the King of Sardinia has already disappeared from Piedmont." But in 1799 twelfth cakes, though they might thus excite a sneer, did not entail the prison or the guillotine.

A newspaper hawker was arrested for crying "*Feuille du Chou*" (cabbage-leaf) in lieu of "*Feuille du Jour*." This was construed as ridiculing the *Feuille de Morale* issued by the Education Committee of the Convention. In spite of his disclaimer of such motives, he was sent by the Observatory section to La Force prison. The same section, being informed on the 21st March 1794 that a cat had broken the seals placed five days previously on Chaumette's effects, sent two of its members to see, but they found it a false alarm.

The abbé Sicard, director of the Deaf and Dumb institution, pupil and successor of the abbé de l'Épée, had a narrow escape from the massacres of September 1792, and he was again in danger of arrest in 1794. A paper thrown over the wall of the institution into a neighbour's garden and taken to the Observatory committee brought suspicion upon him. Accordingly on the 10th May Augustin Simon Roussel, one of the inmates, was summoned before the committee, and here is his interrogatory :—

How long have you been at the Deaf and Dumb institution?—Three years with citizen Sicard.

Are you instructed in the French Revolution?—I shall be taught.

How long have you been learning?—Three or four months.

What is the National Convention?—Yes (*sic*).

Do you know what a patriot is? Have you been taught?—(No answer.)

What is a republican?—Citizens.

What is an aristocrat?—It is violence.

How long have you been taught the Rights of Man?—Citizen Sicard has not taught me.

Are your comrades better taught than you on the Rights of Man?—No.

Are citizen Sicard [and seven others named] patriots?—I believe that citizens Sicard and Salvan are fanatics.

What is your opinion of the other citizens?—The three patriot citizens are——[naming them].¹

Nothing further then passed, but a later entry shows that the committee was still suspicious of the teaching given in the institution.

The abbé Morellet, one of the philosophers whose writings had helped to bring about the Revolution,² had also to undergo an examination. A malicious female neighbour, on removing to Observatory section, where her husband

¹ F. 7, 2516.

² His friend Lord Shelburne had procured for him a pension of 4000 francs from Louis XVI. on the plea that he had rendered service in the negotiation of the Anglo-French commercial treaty.

had obtained a post, went to that section and denounced him as a counter-revolutionist. Observatory forwarded the denunciation to Champs-Élysées section, which promised to inquire into it. The Champs-Élysées register is silent, but Morellet in his *Memoirs* gives a graphic account of his interrogatory. He produced a brevet from the Convention granting him a pension for literary services, and he was able to give satisfactory answers to the questions of the committee, nearly all artisans, the president and secretary alone, he thought, being able to read the brevet. He had to retire while they deliberated. On being called in he was told there was nothing against him, and he might go home *sans remords*, by which the president meant *sans inquiétude*. It was eleven o'clock and raining heavily, though it was the 16th July. Morellet had no umbrella, but a member of the committee, who had a large one, shared it with him, conducting him home through a pool of mud in the Champs-Élysées. Fortunately for him, this section was one of the most moderate in Paris, and but for the malicious woman he would have been left altogether undisturbed, though on crossing the Champs-Élysées he could sometimes hear the mob jeering round the guillotine, and he occasionally, against his will, met the carts on their way thither. Had his lodgings been searched, his life would probably have paid the forfeit of his preservation of the records of the French Academy, which he had secretly carried home and retained till 1805, to say nothing of a sham memorial to the Public Safety Committee in which he ironically proposed that at every patriotic festival the bodies of the guillotined should be devoured as a kind of revolutionary eucharist. That manuscript would certainly have sealed his fate, for the Jacobins did not tolerate irony.

Nothing was too trivial for the committees. On the 15th August 1793 a journeyman hatter was brought before Observatory section for disturbing a Catholic service. Witnesses deposed that he had made grimaces and gestures of disapproval, muttering that the preacher did not know

what he was talking about. The section suspected that he had been incited by a recusant priest, but the man denied this, and pleaded intoxication as an excuse. He was ordered a night's incarceration. A laundress, arrested in April 1793 for not wearing a cockade, said she had kept indoors for a fortnight, and was consequently in ignorance of the law, but she promised the Temple section to buy one next day, when she would have some money. Another laundress, aged 26, arrested as a stranger on the day of Robespierre's fall, and required by the Panthéon section to give an account of herself, explained that she had come to Paris, being sutler to a battalion, to ask the Convention for permission to wear, or rather resume, male dress. She was accordingly dismissed. Caraccioli, the author of the pretended letters of Pope Ganganeli, was called upon, moreover, to explain his means of subsistence.

On the 3rd June 1794 a widow named Cordier, who told fortunes by cards, was brought before Observatory section. She had had five customers that morning. Wives who desired the return of truant husbands took her an egg and some of the husband's hair. She also professed ability to benefit souls in purgatory. She charged 6, 10, or 15 sous for her predictions. She denied that she was ever consulted on the events of the Revolution, and represented her clients as mostly solicitous about their love affairs. The committee, however, apprehensive of the revival of superstition, sent her to prison.

Seditious cries and writings gave the committees occupation. An orphan boy, thirteen years of age, denounced by a *citoyenne* for scribbling on a wall in favour of royalty, was called upon to choose between entering the navy and imprisonment—in other words, between an ordinary prison and a “prison with a chance of being drowned.” The navy, however, declined to accept him, and he was incarcerated for six months. In June and July 1794 several men were brought before Gobelins section for crying *Vive Louis XVI.* (who, alas, was no more), or *Vive Louis XVII.* (who was undergoing the brutality of Simon).

They pleaded drunkenness in excuse. A young man was arrested by the Temple section for singing in the street a song in favour of the Muscadins. Five women were brought before the Thermes section on the 6th June 1794 for not wearing the cockade. One was dismissed on account of age and infirmity, her son being admonished not to let her go out again without the republican symbol. The second pleaded that, arriving that morning from the country and changing her bonnet, she forgot the cockade. She was discharged with a caution. The third was sent on to her own section. The other two were released, one on account of her youth, the other because she was acting as nurse and gave good reasons—we are not told what these were—for the omission.

A girl of nineteen, Cécile Boutmy, was arrested at one in the morning for shouting *Vive le roi* and for declaring that, as all her friends had abandoned her, she wished to be guillotined. She was so drunk as to be unable to walk. She professed no recollection of mentioning the King, but remembered saying that she wished to be guillotined; and this was because of a quarrel with her mother. To the leading question, evidently put by a lenient commissary, whether she loved the Republic and desired its durability, she replied in the affirmative. She was handed over to her own section, Beaubourg, for further inquiry. But youth was not always an available excuse. The daughters of General St. Chamant, aged 15 and 19, whose brother had emigrated, were imprisoned at the rue de Sèvres barracks, and were reported to be "though so young, very decided in their fanaticism and against liberty." Accordingly the Public Safety and General Security Committees resolved on the 21st July 1794 that they should be transported. Let us hope that Robespierre's fall a week later saved them from this fate.

Occasionally the committees found not excuse but defiance. Thus Jeanne Pigeon, aged 23, arrested for vagrancy, told the Temple committee, with an audacity in contrast with her surname, that she regretted the monarchy,

for she was then better off. She had imbibed these principles from a priest, now dead, whom she had met twice at her parents' house—they did not receive him well, however—twice at his lodgings, and twice in the street. She was handed over to Arcis section.

Curious incidents here and there find place in the committees' minutes. Thus in the Place Vendôme section a man describing himself as *portier de sang guillotiné* applied on the 19th July 1794 for employment. He was apparently not earning sufficient for subsistence by washing away the blood of the victims. He could scarcely have foreseen that in a few days his gruesome occupation would be gone. In September 1792 a woman identified her husband's clothes at the Morgue du Châtelet, and obtained a certificate from the Arsenal section that he perished on the 10th August in the attack on the Tuileries. On the 18th October 1793 the dyer of Gobelins section reported that though he had dyed the committee-room curtains, the device *Vive le roi* was still visible. The committee thereupon ordered the curtains to be burnt. On the 10th December the schoolmasters of Fontaine de Grenelle section sent one of their number with a petition that a commissary might wait on the municipality to urge the payment of their arrears of salary. The president, on examining the petition, detected faults in grammar and spelling. This fact would have shown Taine that commissaries were not all illiterate. The schoolmaster, obviously disconcerted, disclaimed responsibility for the blunders, but he had to receive an admonition that children ought to have qualified instructors. Morality, as well as grammar, was attended to. The Théâtre Français section on the 6th February 1794 applied for the expulsion of a drunken member, but the Commune disclaimed any power of interference. Citizen Marie, of Mauconseil section, was found drunk, and though married, living with a mistress in the Lombards section, thus "degrading the title of public functionary." He was taken to the lock-up, and his conduct was reported to the General Security Committee (20th May 1794). A member of a

provincial committee, two days subsequently, went late to bed, after deep potations, refused to open his door on the summons of officers of the Lombards section, and actually threatened to fire at them through the door. He pleaded drunkenness in excuse, and was warned to behave better in future. On the 9th September 1793 there were complaints in Gravilliers section of nocturnal orgies at the wine-shops, and the patrols were ordered to commence their rounds at an earlier hour, so as to make the drunkards go home. A *citoyenne* in male dress, aged 38, was arrested on the 8th August 1793 by the Place Royale section and sent to the Roi de Sicile section, to which she belonged. She explained that she had adopted male attire in order to work as a shoemaker, which craft her deceased husband had taught her. She was dismissed, on pain of punishment for a second offence.

The food question, as we have seen,¹ was a great difficulty. As early as the 28th January 1792 the Croix Rouge section resolved at a general meeting on dispensing with sugar and coffee, on account of their dearness. Bakers' shops were repeatedly the scenes of disturbances. The Thermes committee ordered, on the 16th October 1793, that a patrol should be posted at the shops at 4 A.M., but nine days later, another disturbance being reported, a strong force, headed by commissaries, was directed to be sent at 2 A.M. Nevertheless, not long afterwards there was again a complaint of uproar.² Journeymen bakers had to be watched in the Halle section (May 1, 1794), lest they should sell bread clandestinely to persons not living in the section, and as late as August 1795 the civil committee of Place Louis XIV. section complained that persons in the country hired rooms in Paris in order to obtain certificates entitling them to buy bread. In the Temple section on the 18th May 1794 it was alleged that butchers favoured certain customers—who doubtless paid more than the fixed price—and commissaries were sent to see that the meat was impartially distributed. But the commissaries were

¹ See pp. 132-135.

² F. 7, 2511.

sometimes accused of getting themselves served first, while in the Lombards section it was asserted that doctors' certificates for meat for their patients were used by other persons. Women were brought before the Panthéon committee for creating uproar not only in shops but at the "fraternal repasts," by singing obscene songs. A governess, apparently Irish, Marianne O'Reilly, complained in October 1793 to the Ponceau committee that she had been overcharged at a wine-shop. And when on the 26th March 1794 the "maximum" tables or official price-lists were sent to the committees, the tanners were denounced by the shoemakers for charging an undue price for leather.

The Jacobin was of course an iconoclast. All statues of kings were levelled or demolished immediately after the attack on the Tuileries.¹ The statue of Louis XIV., on the site now occupied by that of Napoleon, was treated as the Commune of 1871 treated the latter, except that the destruction was more effectual. The four chained figures at the base, representing Spain, Holland, Germany, and Turkey, had been removed by the National Assembly on the 19th June 1790, and are now in front of the Invalides. The statue, on the 12th August 1792, was not only pulled down by Palloy, but was broken up, and the finger, extended with a gesture of authority, was presented to the Marseilles deputation then in Paris, "not as an agreeable present, but as a symbol of tyranny, which by reminding people of that crowned brigand's atrocities may incite indignation against kings and royalty." The hand passed into the possession of Latude, famous for his escape from the Bastille, and a foot went to the Museum of French Monuments; it is now at the Louvre. The Commune resolved to erect on the spot a column inscribed with the list of "victims" (anti-royalists) of the 10th August. The statue of Louis XIV. in the place des Victoires was also removed, and the four bronze bas-reliefs of the pedestal, discovered a

¹ Royal portraits fared no better at Fontainebleau, for on the 31st Oct. 1793, at the unveiling of a statue of Marat, all such portraits were taken from the palace to form a funeral pile (C. 279).

few years ago by an Englishman among some lumber in his possession, and presented by him to Queen Victoria, were lent by her Majesty to the Paris municipality to figure in the International Exhibition of 1900. The Englishman's ancestor probably purchased them during the Revolution. On the 18th November 1792 the Place Vendôme committee engaged a mason to efface all heraldic and monarchical devices outside public or private buildings.

Busts of Marat and Lepelletier, the two Jacobin "martyrs," were placed in the section rooms, to the accompaniment of songs and speeches, and, revolting as it seems, children were taught to venerate Marat. On the 19th January 1794 three boys ten to twelve years of age, pupils of Hix, read to Gravilliers committee an address described as their own composition. "Oh Marat," it exclaimed, "quit the Elysian fields and return to the midst of a people who adore thee." The address compared the republic to a rose, unfolding its petals amid thorns and briars, that is to say, monarchs. "Age does not yet allow us to bear arms for the republic; let us help those who are daily exposing their lives in its defence. Accept, therefore, this small offering." The committee ordered 500 copies of this address to be printed, for distribution among the other sections.

I shall show later on¹ with what suspicious alacrity the sections repudiated Robespierre, and some of them even hastened to renounce their Jacobin appellations. The Finistère (Gobelins) section was so eager to repudiate the name of Lazowski, a Robespierrist Pole whose bust and heart figured on its seal, that on the 7th August 1794 it asked all the newspapers to notify the removal of those emblems; but, not liking to waste its stock of paper, it simply effaced the heading Lazowski.

Eight days after Robespierre's fall the revolutionary committees, as well as other authorities by whom arrests had been ordered, were required to assign reasons for such arrests, and prisoners or their friends could demand these justifications. Nevertheless the prisons were for a

¹ See p. 472.

time still pretty full, and in the 9th arrondissement there were many applications for permission to visit inmates of Plassis and the Conciergerie.¹ Many rooms or effects in private houses also continued under seal, for on the 31st August 1794, when the Grenelle powder magazine blew up, numerous seals in houses in the Champs-Élysées section were shattered, and those on the effects of Mirabeau's widow were not removed till the 7th July 1795, when a bundle of her papers was sent to the General Security Committee.²

On the 24th August 1794 the forty-eight revolutionary committees were merged in twelve arrondissement committees.³ The general meetings of sections continued, indeed, to exist until the 8th October 1796, but the allowance of 40 sous was withdrawn on the 21st August 1794, and the meetings were limited to Décadi, while women were debarred from attending. On the 29th March 1795, moreover, it was ordered that the meetings should be held between twelve and four o'clock, which obviously excluded working men.

The registers of the arrondissement committees were in general kept by educated men, and are well written and well spelt. Although the guillotine had ceased working, denunciations and arrests went on for a time intermittently. Thus in the 6th arrondissement, on the 19th April 1795, the wife of a locksmith named Lefèvre, aged 40, was denounced by a blind musician, Merlier, who had been employed in turning her husband's grindstone wheel, for saying that Décadi would soon end, that religion would be restored, that the Dauphin would ascend the throne, and that Paris would be forced by famine to capitulate. She denied the charge, and forced Merlier to admit having

¹ F. 7, 2504.

² F. 7, 2494.

³ In the provinces, moreover, the committees were reduced in number, no parish with a population not exceeding 8000 being allowed more than one, and it was significantly stipulated that the members should be able to read and write. In February 1795 the limit of population was raised to 50,000, and on the 12th June the title "revolutionary" was prohibited. No evidence exists of the existence of such committees after that date.

himself shouted *Vive le roi*, but he pleaded drunkenness in excuse. The woman was dismissed with a caution, while Merlier was handed over to the 8th arrondissement. The 7th arrondissement committee were amazed one morning to find in their room royalist handbills declaring a good king to be better than a Constitution without bread, and how these had been smuggled in could not be ascertained.¹ Bread riots, moreover, whether on a small scale in bakers' shops or in mobs marching to the Convention, gave employment to some of the arrondissement committees. The 6th arrondissement register has a full account of a disturbance in a baker's shop, three women being implicated, as also depositions respecting a mob of women who, on the 27th March 1795, tore off their cockades and marched to the Convention. The rising of Prairial (20th May 1797) likewise figures in the registers. The Arcis general meeting, assembling in Billettes church, adopted thirteen resolutions claiming liberty of election and repudiating the decree that two-thirds of the Convention should be re-elected. These resolutions were unanswerable, except, indeed, after the fashion of Barras and his subordinate Bonaparte, by cannon, and other sections sent deputations to notify adhesion to them. The 6th arrondissement committee took long depositions on this rising.

Some of the prisoners naturally applied on their release after the Terror for the restitution of property. Thus *citoyenne* Walsh, on the 8th October 1794, asked the 8th arrondissement for two pistols, and Thomas Macdermott, an Irish militia colonel, who had been two years in Paris when arrested and disclaimed association with the English there, applied on the 3rd October 1795 for a bundle of letters and two silver-handled knives. The letters were restored, but the knives could not be traced.

There were also applications by released prisoners for copies of the minutes of arrests, but in the 11th arrondissement these documents could not be discovered.

¹ F. 7, 2498.

In the 12th arrondissement a number of women, five in one batch, asked for and obtained the denunciations and warrants under which their husbands had been imprisoned. On the other hand the son of Talbot, mason, and member of the Commune, guillotined as a Robespierrist, applied for a copy of the warrant against his father. He apparently meditated some revenge. Kellet, on the 2nd November 1795, applied for the removal of the seals on the effects of *citoyenne* d'Albestroffe, in Observatory section. This *citoyenne*, for whom he acted as proxy, was none other than Clementina Walkingshaw, the Young Pretender's mistress, who had taken the title of countess Albestroffe. She was apparently then living either in the provinces or abroad. This is almost the last trace to be found of her. She died at Freiburg, Switzerland, in November 1802.

It will naturally be asked whether the sectional committees were brought to book for their delinquencies. There were some cases of exposure, but scarcely any of actual punishment. When their papers had to be handed over to the arrondissement committees, the Croix Rouge register showed a gap of thirty leaves, though an artful attempt had been made to disguise the mutilation by the insertion of fresh leaves with concocted entries. Out of more than 300 prisoners, fifty had been charged from 3 to 12 francs a day for expenses of detention, irrespective of board. "Some of the best society in the faubourg St. Germain," says Taine, "were quartered in a fine house and garden in the rue de Sèvres, and out of 160 prisoners only two were guillotined." Thirty inhabitants of the Luxembourg section complained of exactions and thefts, but among them there did not figure the aged duc de Nivernais, albeit he had been "bled" to the tune of 3000 francs, besides 20 francs a day for five months to four warders in his house feeding at his expense; but he probably considered himself fortunate, even by being the milch-cow of the section, to have escaped the guillotine.¹ As for the thirty complainants, an inquiry

¹ Perey, *Fin du XVIII. Siècle*.

was instituted, which showed that 67,654 francs had been extorted from them, of which sum only 2855 francs had been paid into the section treasury. The remainder had been appropriated by commissaries or their subordinates.

Many of the complainants were widows. One of the male sufferers, placed under arrest in his own house, had been assigned four warders, who each for eight months received 8 francs and for the following two months 5 francs a day, besides board—all at the poor man's expense. A woman in like manner saddled with two warders was coerced the day before her death into giving one of them 1500 francs. A retired watchmaker, on refusing to pay 15 francs a day for the privilege of detention in the barracks, had been thrown into a dungeon till his wife and son handed over the money. Nor was this all. He had been required to sign promissory notes for 40,000 francs, on pain of being again consigned to the dungeon. His family compromised the claim by paying 19,000 francs. A notary had been compelled to give 2892 francs for his son's prison maintenance. Sixteen francs a day had been sometimes levied for this compulsory board and lodging, but one man, though detained only a few days, had been charged 1690 francs. Another paid 7000 francs. As the price of release, a widow had given 1200 francs and a promissory note for a like amount.

There had, moreover, been actual theft. Among the intercepted and confiscated letters of one complainant were drafts from Italy for 800 francs or 900 francs. A watch had been taken from a widow. Seventeen loaves of sugar had been abstracted from a hairdresser by Thomas Francis Stanley, an English watchmaker, and on demanding restitution the man had been imprisoned for four days till he withdrew his claim. Another victim had been required to cancel a debt of 350 francs against a commissary's friend. He had refused, but after a few days' incarceration had yielded. He had nevertheless been kept in prison till the fall of Robespierre. One prisoner had paid 270 francs for

a month's detention.¹ Madame de Narbonne testified that she had been called on to pay a lump sum of 10,000 francs, but could not promise more than 2000 francs a month, and had paid the first instalment. The committee's accounts showed an alleged outlay of 6535 francs in five months for building repairs. A carpenter was entered as having received 3150 francs, whereas he had received only 1790 francs. 310 francs was charged for the arrest of the Princess of Monaco, and 888 francs for torches and other expenses of the search for British subjects on the 12th October 1793. Altogether the alleged expenses of arrests came to 9000 francs. 17,640 francs was also charged for warders, though nineteen at 3 francs a day should in eight months have cost only 13,680 francs. Warders for persons prisoners in their own houses figured for 12,365 francs, fuel for 3546 francs, and a locksmith (Olivier, himself a commissary) for 1336 francs. No vouchers were produced, yet the committee had the effrontery to claim 3469 francs as a balance due to them. In November 1794 twelve commissaries were prosecuted for embezzlement. Most of them were tradesmen—a coach-painter, a gilder, a tallow chandler, &c., but one, Piccini, a native of Marseilles, son of the composer, and himself a musician, was described as a man of letters. Well might the indictment remark—"In the critical circumstances of a revolution, those who should have set an example to other functionaries and to the mass of citizens have shamelessly abused the confidence of the people whose interests they professed to be constantly espousing, while really seeking only to satisfy their infamous cupidity." Ten of the twelve were convicted, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment and six hours' exposure in the pillory. Olivier, the locksmith, escaped the latter humiliation, at least for a time, by stabbing himself, though not seriously. The other nine, on the 28th November 1794, underwent the hootings of the crowd.

¹ Desmoulins complained in his *Vieux Cordelier* that his father-in-law, Duplessis, confined in a guard-house, had to pay the Revolutionary Committee 12 francs a night for his bed.

Piccini was one of those acquitted. But with the exception of a few lines, reprinted by M. Aulard in his *Réaction Thermidorienne*, the newspapers of the time took no notice of the trial, and had not M. Sorel published the documents in his *Couvent des Carmes* in 1863 all details of these misdeeds would have perished by the burning down of the Hôtel de Ville in 1871. They seem to have been committed before November 1793, when the Carmelite monastery ceased to be a sectional lock-up and became a public prison.

The Roule section also instituted proceedings against its commissaries for embezzlement, and the Lombards section appointed a committee to receive denunciations, but we do not hear of any result. In the Thermes section, a committee, nominated on the 18th February 1795 to examine the papers of the revolutionary committee, reported that many documents, presumably of an "incendiary" character, were missing, and that quiet citizens had been deterred from attending the general meetings, or if they did go had been terrified into silence by threats of a *purge* as practised at the Jacobin club. In the Postes section there was a similar investigation into malpractices. The report, presented on the 10th December 1794, showed that the commissaries were irregularly elected, that vacancies were filled up by co-option, and that on a critical occasion thirty inhabitants of the Mauconseil section came in and rendered it a joint meeting of both sections, which was quite illegal. Any objector to the resolutions proposed was threatened with arrest, and the meetings were spun out to a late hour, so that moderates might be tired and leave before the vote was taken. The most esteemed and patriotic citizens were imprisoned, or subjected to disgraceful annoyances. The twenty-one persons who had thus usurped authority were held up to the contempt of all good citizens and to the avenging sword of justice. It does not, however, appear that any prosecution was instituted, and no charge of embezzlement is preferred.

In the 6th arrondissement ex-commissaries were sued and fined for the improper seizure of provisions, and in the

7th some of the ex-commissaries were arrested by the General Security Committee, but we do not hear of any prosecution. Cambon, moreover, complained in the Convention in November 1794 that none of the Paris sections, though repeatedly pressed, had sent in accounts of the revolutionary tax levied by them. It may be presumed that some of the money had gone into the commissaries' pockets. Even, too, where there had been convictions, the punishment inflicted on these miscreants was very short. On the 13th October 1795 the Convention annulled all condemnations of members of revolutionary committees for their misconduct during the Terror, and eight days later it ordered the stoppage of all pending prosecutions and the release of the defendants. Retribution, as far as the law was concerned, was thus at an end. It must be confessed, moreover, that irrespective of the expediency, on account of the reactionary rising of the 5th October, of conciliating the Jacobins, there were strong reasons for thus drawing a veil over the past. However deserved punishment might be, a multiplicity of prosecutions would have revived passions which it was desirable to appease. An Act of Oblivion is not consistent with strict justice, but it is a lesser evil than wholesale retribution.

It would have been strange if the stage had not satirised these committees. On the 27th April 1795 Ducancel brought out at the Variétés "*l'Intérieur des comités révolutionnaires, ou les Aristides modernes.*" The scene was ostensibly laid at Dijon, apparently because the committee of that town had protested before the Convention against the fall of Robespierre, an act of audacity or courage which had entailed arrest; but the piece was really a cutting satire of Parisian committees, and consequently had a run of two hundred nights. An aged ex-prisoner is said to have attended every night, exulting at all the hits, and exclaiming, "How I am avenged on those scoundrels!"

CHAPTER V

PARIS DAY BY DAY

January-June, 1794

Observers of Public Spirit—Invasion of England, and rumoured Revolution—Popular Meetings—Street Groups and Talk—Festivals—Amusements—Tricks of Tradesmen—Scarcity—Queues—Quacks, Beggars, and Thieves—Sunday and Friday Observance—Shirking Military and Sentry Service—Arrests and Prisons—Suicides—Negro Emancipation—A Boulevard Burial—Buffon *filis*—Taciturnity and Delation—Pillage—Desecration of Graves—Drunkenness—Strikes—Wedding Feasts—Robespierre's Illness and rumoured Arrest—Gambling—Guillotine Scenes—Hébert—Danton—Easter—Festival of Supreme Being—Décadi sermons.

WHAT would we not give for a diary kept in Paris during the Terror? But none such exists.¹ A diary requires a sense of security, whereas domiciliary visits were then the order of the day, and the most inoffensive documents were liable to suspicion and misconstruction. Even Gouverneur Morris, the American ambassador, though living quietly from May 1793 at Seineport, twenty miles from the capital, did not think it safe to continue his journal. His diplomatic capacity should have protected him from molestation, but in March 1793 men entered his house to search, apparently for arms, and though they withdrew on his claiming exemption, Lebrun, minister of Foreign Affairs, to whom he complained, actually justified the intrusion. Madame de Damas, moreover, whom he had sheltered at Seineport, was there arrested. He himself, too, was once stopped at the barriers, on his way thither, on the plea that his passport had expired, and he was likewise arrested in

¹ The "Journal of a Spy," published in 1895, was not authenticated, though it may have been based on genuine data.

the street for lack of a card of civism and taken to the Butte des Moulins section, where an acquaintance fortunately vouched for his identity. All the other foreign ambassadors had quitted France, except indeed Reybaz, the envoy from Geneva, who was also arrested by one of the sections in March 1794, but in that case the section was rebuked by the Convention. No wonder, then, if private individuals, whether natives or foreigners, carefully abstained from recording experiences or impressions which might have imperilled them. It is true that M. Biré, one of the Frenchmen best acquainted with the Revolution, has written the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris*, giving chapter and verse for every entry, but this is avowedly nothing more than a cleverly executed mosaic. It stands to a real diary just as an artificial flower stands to a real one. It is necessarily based on the newspapers of the time, but those newspapers, partly because they did not think it worth while, partly because they did not dare, omit much that we should most like to know. As for memoirs of the period, they were not written till years afterwards, when men's impressions were no longer vivid, and when absolute accuracy of detail was impossible, besides which they were too often written for personal vindication.

But if we have no diaries we have something closely resembling them. Garat, on becoming minister of the Interior in March 1793, organised a *bureau de l'esprit public*, not designed, like Roland's previous department of that name, to influence public opinion by disseminating newspapers and pamphlets, but to obtain daily records of public feeling as it existed. Champagny, who had been the head of Roland's bureau, served also under Garat, and he had at least six "observers" or "commissaries"—Dutard, Perrière, Julien de Carentan, Baumier, Blanc, and Latour-Lamontagne. Under Paré, who in June 1793 succeeded Garat, the observers numbered twenty-four. Franqueville, the head of the bureau, directed them, in September 1793, to wait upon him daily with

their reports at 7 A.M., an early hour against which we find Perrière remonstrating as incompatible with his delicate health. Adolf Schmidt, the author of *Tableaux de la Révolution Française* (1869-70), found in the National Archives a list of the observers, with the number of reports sent in by each, but he did not find the reports of 1794, which he supposed were to be looked for in the papers of the Public Safety Committee. They are not, however, to be found there; but among the 200 boxes of papers of the Revolutionary Tribunal, mostly collected by Fouquier Tinville, where I discovered¹ the reports of Pluviôse, Ventôse, and the first decade of Germinal. Dauban, in his *Paris en 1794*, gives some of the reports for Ventôse, but his selections relate almost entirely to the food supply. The police reports, which Schmidt gives from the 21st Ventôse to the 9th Germinal, were apparently compiled from these observers' reports, but if so they are very meagre summaries. No later reports are to be looked for, inasmuch as on the 12th Germinal the Convention resolved that on the 1st Floréal the ministries should be abolished, and the observers were probably at once dismissed.² If their services were retained, their reports must have been addressed either directly to the Convention committees, or indirectly through the "Civil Administration of police and tribunals." In all likelihood, however, they were disbanded, for I have come upon an application to Fouquier for employment as a translator by Perrière, which shows that he had lost his post. We consequently hear nothing of public feeling at the trial of the Dantonists. The Germinal reports, too, are of decidedly inferior quality to those of Pluviôse. Many are full of denunciations of individuals, and we no longer meet with graphic descriptions of scenes in the *ci-devant* churches or with piquant conversations.

¹ W. 174 and 191.

² The Minister of the Interior on the 11th Germinal handed in to the Public Safety Committee three sealed bundles of the observers' reports. This seems to imply the abolition of the bureau.

It looks as though the observers, one named Bacon in particular, had either received a hint to be less outspoken, or felt it unsafe to write things which might not be palatable.

Of the observers little can be ascertained. Judging by the Pluviôse reports, the whole twenty-four did not report daily, or some may have merely acted temporarily for men absent or unwell. Paul Perrière, who was not on duty in Pluviôse but acted in Germinal, was a native of Rochelle and apparently a Protestant; he had lived in England and in one instance introduces English reminiscences. Latour-Lamontagne was a versifier, who, on the 3rd January 1794, among the literary grants of the Convention, figures for 1500 francs. Boucheseiche was a geographer. Grivel was apparently the economist and philosopher who afterwards plotted with Babeuf and secretly informed against him. Siret was the author of an English grammar. Le Breton was probably the Noël Le Breton, corporal in the national guard, who was imprisoned in the winter of 1791 for presuming, while on duty at the Tuileries, to give an order that the King should not be allowed to go out after 9 P.M. Fear of a second escape was ultimately accepted as an excuse for his officiousness. Mercier was not Sébastien, the prolific writer and anti-Copernican, but probably Claude François, a bookseller and versifier, or possibly the Mercier who in August 1792 contracted to coin bronze money.¹ Delarue may have been the notary who, in May 1792, presented to the Assembly a treatise on the Constitution. Soulet was perhaps the "Soulès" sent as a commissary to Toulon, who returned to report its surrender, was at first disbelieved and suspected of being in English pay, and later on was again suspected and guillotined. There was, however, a François Soulet, who wrote a pamphlet on the fall of the Bastille. Pourvoyeur, very aptly named for a purveyor of information, was probably the engraver whose son in 1868 told Vatel, Charlotte Corday's biographer, that when a boy, living in the same house as Marat,

¹ Sébastien, however, had a brother, whose daughter married Holcroft.

he saw her arrested.¹ Hanriot was probably a brother or kinsman of the notorious Robespierriest who commanded the national guard. Dugasse translated into a foreign language the decrees of the National Assembly. Rolin was afterwards a member of the civil committee of the Invalides, and Jarousseau of the Piques section.

The reports vary considerably in quality. Those of L. A. Bacon are decidedly the best. Next to him stands Dugasse. With the exception of Jarousseau, whose spelling is rather phonetic, the observers would seem to have been men of tolerable education. If there is a general absence of style, this argues for their fidelity. While some display sagacity, others are naïve. Some are very outspoken, others seem to aim at pleasing, rather than enlightening, the authorities. Each clearly wrote independently, yet the reports sometimes corroborate one another. The observers were manifestly men of no prominence. Men of prominence would scarcely have accepted such a post, nor could they have mixed so freely with the people without exciting distrust, whereas these men join in conversations evidently without their mission being suspected.

The reports are written on sheets of paper of various sizes and quality. Beyond an occasional mark or heading in the margin, there is nothing to show what use was made of them, but from another document it would seem that Franqueville compiled from them a daily report to the Public Safety Committee. Several signatures are illegible, a common failing to this day in France, and a few are not signed at all, the man's handwriting being manifestly a sufficient authentication. Pluviôse to the middle of Germinal was not a specially thrilling period. The reports, however, give a vivid picture of Parisian life and temper when the Terror had set in, but had not reached its climax. They tell us much of the "groups," that is to say, of people collecting in the streets to discuss events or to be harangued by *motionnaires*, who were

¹ Cabanis, *Cabinet Secret de l'Histoire*, 1897.

sometimes women. We see women taking their little children with them to the Revolutionary Tribunal, where people ate apples and cakes, and even quenched their thirst. We notice the approval of the convictions, and the dancing round the guillotine, with occasional effusions of sympathy at acquittals. We look into the *ci-devant* churches at the Décadi services, and hear recitations by children, addresses on patriotism or morality, and denunciations of religion, when women stamped to mark their approval, while men, like Sir Joshua Reynolds, "only took snuff."¹ We hear, on the other hand, of the partial observance of Fridays as fast-days. We are told a great deal of the difficulty of procuring provisions, particularly bread and meat, but sometimes also milk or candles. We behold people collecting outside shops before daylight to wait for their specified allowance, and we hear much of violations of the law of maximum, or fixed price. This is, indeed, the constant burden of the reports, though to avoid monotony I quote only a few of these entries. We find Sunday not quite forgotten, as evidenced by the markets being thinly supplied or by women donning their best clothes. We hear, too, of occasional Catholic services, and of the names and addresses of the worshippers being ominously taken down. We find delation so frequent that taciturnity sometimes prevails even in the cafés. We listen to talk of the expected invasion of England, which invasion, it was believed, would be welcomed or even forestalled by an insurrection. This shows how utterly the French were misled or mistaken respecting foreign nations. We hear of wedding feasts in the suburbs, of shoplifting, of the swarm of beggars with their sham infirmities and their kidnapped infants, of gaming-houses, of suicide to avoid arrest, of feigned illness to escape military service. We find uneasiness as to a second conscription, which would fall not merely on young men but on fathers of families. We gaze at a funeral procession singing republican songs.

¹ These Décadi services I have reserved for the end of the chapter.

The newspapers of the time would be vainly searched for such episodes as these. The newspapers were too full of the Convention and the war to afford space for what they would have considered trivial incidents. Many of these little occurrences, moreover, could not safely have been printed, and could be recorded solely in confidential reports.

But let the "observers" now speak for themselves.

1 *Pluviôse* (January 20, 1794).

The announcement of fifty-two merchant vessels being captured from the English and brought into Cherbourg was to-day the subject of general conversation.¹ Everywhere there are wishes for an invasion of England, and this is expected to be soon realised. "Why," people say, "does it not take place, as there are already 30,000 men at Brest, and 600 vessels have been requisitioned?" The cry of the Parisians or rather of all Frenchmen, is that of the Romans, *Delenda est Carthago*. . . .

The (Jacobin) club has fixed for to-morrow a special meeting in memory of the 21st January. The members will be required to wear red caps at this sitting.²

DUGASSE.

A butcher who had closed his stall on account of the dearness of meat was forced to reopen, being told that he had formerly gained enough. He submitted.

LE BRETON.

The popular assembly of Montmartre section was numerously attended. More women than usual in the galleries. There was talk of various persons in the sections suspected of being Rolandists. All was referred to the Revolutionary committee. Republican instructions (catechisms) were then read. The speaker was often interrupted [by plaudits] when he spoke of saints, of their little dogs, and of the devil. I will not quote any passage, for the whole discourse was grand, revolutionary, and contained eternal

¹ The captures mount up to fifty-two vessels, all richly loaded. (Letter from Cherbourg, read in the Convention, 1 *Pluviôse*.)—*Moniteur*, xix. 258.

² This was Couthon's proposal. Another member suggested that all the kings at war with France should be beheaded in effigy. This was not agreed to, but portraits of the "French and Russian tyrants" were burnt in the middle of the hall, several citizens dancing the Carmagnole, and trampling on the ashes of the portraits.—*Moniteur*, xix. 270, 287.

truth. It produced a happy effect on the men, while the women applauded and could not help laughing. Public spirit is progressing in this society.

BACON.

It was rumoured among the people that Pitt, the infamous Pitt, had been forced to flee from London, to avoid the fury of the people, whose eyes are said to have been opened. Although this is related by many persons, it requires confirmation.¹

CHARMONT.

There is a rumour that Pitt is disgraced, that his head has been carried about in effigy in London, and that things will soon change.

ROLIN.

Many young men of the first conscription are met with who return to Paris without leave. Several citizens whose sons are at the frontier are indignant at finding that these young men do not obey the laws, and they demand justice against these *mauvais sujets*, who cause trouble and discourage zealous defenders of the republic. . . . What surprises many is to see always the same women in the groups and the tribunals. It is inconceivable to see how idle and sluttish they are.

CHARMONT.

Several parishes in the neighbourhood of Paris, particularly Louvres, have presented petitions to the committees of various sections where the wine-merchants reside who usually supply them. The innkeepers are in want of wine for the troops who pass through, and for the sick. They intend to go to the Convention if they cannot obtain justice.

2 *Pluviôse*.

There has been a large gathering of armed national guards to celebrate, as is said, the anniversary of the execution of Louis Capet. Nothing extraordinary happened. On the suspicion of there being in the rue St. Jacques print-sellers who sold many engravings of the late King and Queen, people went there and burnt all the pictures.

Good people still complain of the high price of meat.

LE BRETON.

¹ A letter from Dunkirk, read at the Jacobin club on the 29th Nivôse, stated that Pitt had been dismissed and an effigy of his head carried about London, but the recipient of the letter fell under suspicion and was sent to the General Security Committee.—*Moniteur*, xix. 255.

The *fête* held yesterday, Place de la Révolution, attracted many spectators. The people showed at this *fête* its love of liberty and hatred of kings. . . . All passed off in the greatest order. Conspirators were guillotined amid cries of "Vive la République!" "Périssent tous les traîtres!" During this ceremony the people sang, danced, and seemed highly satisfied. In a wine-shop, porte St. Jacques, the *fête* was discussed. Women said there could be no greater treat to *sans-culottes* than guillotining on a day like this, for if the guillotine had not worked the *fête* would not have been so fine.¹ The death of the tyrant was then discussed. Some said: "It is a year to-day that the *gros cochon* died." "Have you noticed," asked a woman of a certain age, "that the weather was then almost the same as to-day? Well, my idea is that fighting is now going on in London." People said to her: "It is quite possible, and if not to-day, before long there will be no kings in England."

The popular assembly of Arcis section was very numerous. Nearly all the sitting was devoted to the cavalier whom the society should furnish to the nation. More than twenty members spoke on that subject. At last after a long, very long, discussion, it was resolved that to-morrow a citizen should be chosen to go and serve, and to be presented to the Minister of War. There were many artisans who do not seem to be very revolutionary.

There are still outcries and murmurs against the pork-butchers. In a wine-shop near the *ci-devant* hôtel Beauvais, faubourg du Roule, these citizens were discussed. Women said that more than 35 sous a pound was being paid for bacon, as the pork-butchers sold everything sodden and full of salt. "There is nothing to be done with these rogues, who combine with the hawkers to sweat us." "This morning," said one, "a pork-butcher was near being killed near the Croix Rouge for selling bacon quite sodden."

Warning to the magistrates.—In a café near the Arsenal, popular societies were discussed. It was said that there would shortly be only twelve in Paris, instead of forty-eight. Men who did not appear to be good citizens said, "that is the only way of baffling the intriguers."

In the cafés frequented by *beaux esprits* there was talk of to-day's ceremony. It was considered truly republican. It was remarked that the Jacobins had contributed to save the republic.

BACON.

¹ Thibault, aged 49, one of the tax-farmers, was executed on the 1st Pluviôse for speaking of the members of the Convention as "pigs."

The market-women complain that since their husbands have been at the frontier they have received nothing of what the law allows them. They propose to draw up a petition to the National Convention, and ask for the law on that subject to be carried out. It is to be presumed that these *citoyennes* belong to the Contrat Social or Halle-au-Blé section. It is essential to forestall them. . . .

It is inconceivable how the bread supplied by the bakers gets worse and worse. There are, however, in the capital some who supply very good, which makes me think that some put in rubbish, for their bread is not properly baked, and when broken to pieces is full of dust. It is urgent to make inspections. FRÉRON.

Hanriot's staff-officers alone are said to be seen in the boxes and stalls of the Opera. They are accused of wanting to succeed the fops (*muscadins*) of the old Opera. Many theatres have been open gratuitously in rejoicing for the anniversary of the tyrant's death, but at none were there so many as at the Théâtre de la République, which performed the *Abolition de la Royauté* and the *Dernier Jugement des Rois*.¹

It is remarked that Jacques Roux [ex-priest and member of the Commune], who was in the carriage with Capet when the tyrant was taken to the scaffold, has been buried exactly a year afterwards. He died of his wounds.²

Charlatans have for some days been deluding the people in the galleries of the Jardin de la Révolution [Tuileries gardens] by exhibiting for ten sous a bull on whose left horn nature, they said, had placed a tricolour cockade. This pretended cockade is merely an excrescence in no way resembling what they pretend.

DUGASSE.

It is surprising to see the number of young men wearing spectacles to avoid, it is said, the conscription. They affect to be short sighted, and have consequently obtained certificates from the Health committee.

Candles now begin to be scarce. The chandlers complain that a quantity of suet is taken to make bad soup, leaving none for candles. Attention should be paid to this, as it might cause a stir.

The decree against perjury³ is much applauded. The people had long asked for it, for with such monsters a patriot was not sure of returning home [without being arrested as a counter revolutionist].

POURVOYEUR.

¹ See *Moniteur*, xviii. 288 ; xix. 251.

² See p. 141.

³ Death penalty decreed for perjury : 4 Nivôse.

5 *Pluviôse*.

Soup tickets have been distributed this morning among women in Indivisibilité section. The number of *citoyennes* was very considerable. This distribution was made with the utmost order, and without any murmurs.

At La Gaillote, near the boulevard, citizens in tolerable numbers were talking of the Revolutionary Tribunal. One of them said it was very unfortunate that the revenue farmer [Thibault] who was guillotined the other day was now proved to have been innocent. The ill-disposed who, under the cloak of patriotism, make capital out of everything seized this occasion for censuring the Revolutionary Tribunal. Women in a café near Nicolet, speaking of this farmer's trial, said, "This is how people guillotine!" They sighed, and this was all. These women were well dressed.

BACON.

In spite of the precautions at the barriers, bread is every day passed through. To-day, at three different barriers, several *citoyennes* were arrested for smuggling bread under their petticoats. It was noticed that the bakers who supplied them had carefully cut off the place where their names were marked.¹

No butcher has opened his shop. As under the *ancien régime*, he rests on the *ci-devant* Fridays. Citizens wanting meat this morning as usual were told by the butchers, "You know very well that it is Friday, and that there is never any meat on that day."² They ought to be forced to open their shops.

CHARMONT.

There are still complaints as to wood for fuel, meat, coal, wine, and especially candles.

MERCIER.

There are complaints of the fraternal society of the French Panthéon section, which on its own responsibility has suspended the delivery of certificates of civism. A number of persons who have only a small income to live on consequently have to go without necessities till it pleases the citizens composing that society to grant them their certificates.

Calumny is still the order of the day. It is desirable to have a special law against those whose venomous lips cast the poison of calumny on all the objects surrounding them, so as to take away

¹ Bread being sold under cost-price, and the difference being at the expense of the municipality, persons living outside Paris were not entitled to it.

² Until the Revolution butchers were compelled to close on Fridays, as well as, like all other tradesmen, on Sundays.

not life but honour, reputation, probity, &c. These monsters think to shine thus at the expense of the innocent by representing them as moderates, aristocrats, federalists, &c.—in short, tarnishing by a poisoned varnish the reputation of the citizens whom they attack.

ROLIN.

The great difference between the price of bread in the country and in Paris necessitates supervision at the barriers, which is not always sufficiently strict. The country bakers, moreover, are sometimes out of bread for two or three days running, and then it has to be procured at Paris, and the critical barriers have to be crossed at all cost. Women accordingly employ all sorts of stratagems, and even conceal under their petticoats the bread which they require for their children.

DUGASSE.

When we see the multitude of men and women who never miss attending these gatherings [the Jacobin club, the Cordeliers club, the sections, the popular societies, the Commune, and the tribunals] we cannot calculate without a shudder the time which they divert from useful labours.

DUGASSE.

One is more and more astonished at the fearful, more than progressive, increase in the price of provisions of all kinds, their extreme scarcity, and the deplorable contempt which the shopkeepers affect for the maximum. . . .

On all sides there is complaint of the insults daily undergone by the sufferers when being conducted to the scaffold. This is said to lower the nation in the eyes of other countries. . . . The hundred and odd prisoners brought from Nantes to Paris have been shamefully insulted on their arrival.

LE HARIVEL.

6 *Pluviôse*.

A fresh manœuvre of the ill-disposed is announced. Grocers and other tradesmen wrap their goods in the proscribed newspapers of the Royous, Durosoys, &c., which are thus spread broadcast among the people.

Since the proposal of citizen Desmoulins to inquire into the grounds of arrest, quiet has been restored in several quarters. Wives and mothers are waiting from day to day for the execution of it, and terror and alarm no longer prevail among them. "My husband," said a *citoyenne*, "is not a great politician; he is a man who has always been quiet, but because he does not shout in his section he has been taken for a moderate and imprisoned."

There is talk against deputies who, instead of attending the Convention, amuse themselves by writing in newspapers. There was talk in a café in the Jardin de l'Égalité of Léonard Bourdon, and it was said that the *Créole* newspaper took up his whole time. "Should the nation," asked a citizen, "pay representatives who neglect the mission entrusted to them by the people?"

BÉRAUD.

Women in groups proposed resolutions and denounced true patriots. The people silenced them, bidding them attend to their households, and telling them it was not their business to propose motions, especially against true republicans.¹ People say it has been noticed that women often become sanguinary, that they preach nothing but blood, that there are more and more a certain number of women who are constantly at the guillotine or the Revolutionary Tribunal, and that most of these women denounce and declaim against true patriots. They may, it is remarked, be excused, seeing it is from ignorance that they talk thus, but they should be enjoined to be silent, for amongst them there are some who are very obstinate and dangerous, as every day they slip into the groups.

POURVOYEUR.

7 Pluviôse.

A piece entitled *la Folie de Georges* has had all the success which it deserved, in spite of some slight blemishes. It is vexatious, for instance, that the author makes the English despot form the project, in a fit of madness, of turning Jacobin. The ill-disposed much applauded this trait.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

The popular society of the Piques section sent to-day to the army of the North three cavaliers, armed, equipped, and mounted, who are to be incorporated into the 10th regiment. The society had appointed twenty-four members to escort the brave defenders of the country. More than sixty persons, men and women, went with them to la Villette [a suburb of Paris]. There a truly fraternal dinner was held. Patriotic songs, sung by young *citoyennes* and repeated by the citizens, stimulated the love of liberty and equality. . . . This dinner is calculated to make MM. Pitt and Coburg tremble with fear.

BACON.

¹ On the 29 Nivôse a woman in the gallery of the Jacobin club complained that her repeated denunciations of an "aristocrat" had been ineffectual.—*Moniteur*, xix. 255.

Thieves are daily arrested. Yesterday a company of these gentry (*messieurs*) were caught in stealing hams from a pork-butcher's shop. The streets of Paris swarm with these scoundrels.

ROLIN.

8 *Pluviôse*.

This evening, at the café Payen, a long discussion arose on the decree requisitioning all who have served as officers on merchant vessels.¹

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

At the café de la Montagne a letter from Bruges was read. It states that the Austrians, English, and Hanoverians quarrel, that there are every day fights between individual officers and soldiers of these different nations, and that they loudly express their discontent at the prolongation of the war.

DUGASSE.

Yesterday² the market-women of Quinze-Vingts section replied to the citizens and *citoyennes* who complained of the market not being supplied as usual: "Is not to-day Sunday? Why, where can you come from?" and on their neighbours remarking that such talk ran risk of the guillotine, the rejoinder was, "Let them do what they like to me, I shall never forget Sundays."

LE HARIVEL.

9 *Pluviôse*.

At the second tribunal there was General Marassé [Marcé], who defended himself with much force, but with a hypocritical air. Everybody said, "He will certainly go to the *petite fenêtre nationale* [the guillotine], for he is said to have betrayed our armies, and he well deserves it."³ . . . The majority of the citizens agreed in unanimously (*sic*) saying that the tribunals act well, that they acquit the innocent and punish the guilty, although murmurs are heard among the public at their judgments.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

¹ The account of the discussion is too long for quotation. One speaker, believing that the decree betokened the invasion of England, represented that country to be on the brink of an insurrection, as the English were only waiting for the French to hail them as liberators. But another speaker, who, fleeing from persecution, spent some time in London in 1786 (? Morande), argued that the French were hated in England, and that an invasion would merely strengthen the Government.

² Sunday, 28th January.

³ He was guillotined 9 *Pluviôse*.

Two potent reasons should induce the National Convention to require all house-owners to remove the lead pipes projecting from their houses.¹ The first is the necessity of having lead to present to our enemies, and the second is that they inundate passers-by for two hours after rain has ceased.

ROLIN.

10 *Pluviôse*.

Décadi has been well observed by all the citizens keeping shops. The grocers have strictly obeyed the decree of the Commune which enjoins them to open their shops.

FRÉRON.

I remarked that no artisan was at work to-day, that they were all *endimanchés*,² and that this Décadi was as sacred for them as Sunday is for the English. . . .

BACON.

Décadi always draws many people to the theatres. Nearly all the shops are open in the daytime, and in the evening people go and applaud patriotic pieces. . . . An invasion of England is generally desired.

There are no more complaints against the bakers, but many against the butchers and wine-shops. . . . Many well-dressed beggars go into the cafés, and after asking alms in a whisper they sit round the fire and join in political discussions. . . .

No traces, so to speak, of Catholic worship remain in Paris.

DUGASSE.

The early invasion of England is strongly desired by all Parisians. "Let us go to England. The only way is to go and exterminate them in their own homes."

CHARMONT.

11 *Pluviôse*.

The butchers now close between ten and eleven in the morning at latest, saying that they have no more meat and cannot procure any. I hear many citizens say, "Are we going to have the same bother with meat that we have had with bread?"

There was a wedding yesterday in the chapelle of St. André des Arts, and it was sacramental. Many citizens were present as at a rare and curious thing. Mass continues to be said in this chapel every Sunday.

ROLIN.

¹ See p. 129.

² Although *Dimanche* was abolished, Bacon had to employ this term to signify the wearing of best clothes.

The aristocrats were radiant to-day. They spread it about that King George and Pitt had been drawn in triumph at the opening of the English Parliament, and that George had declared that Russia and the Grand Turk had leagued with him against France, engaging to furnish contingents. They said that the English people liked the war, that hatred of the French was at a climax, that the decree against the English living in France had incensed them, and that the British brethren were going to fight us to the knife. The ill-disposed added that the arrest of Thomas Paine infallibly embroiled us with the Americans, that great man having framed their constitution.

DUGASSE.

12 *Pluviôse*.

People have for a long time been remarking, but particularly to-day, that children, at least under five or six years old, should not be allowed to enter the Revolutionary Tribunal, for they make much noise by crying during the trials. Vendors of apples, brandy, and rolls (*petits pains*) should also be prohibited, for they pester citizens and interrupt the judges. When these saleswomen are in court you cannot hear the depositions of the witnesses, they make so much noise. . . . If the people are glad to see the guilty punished they are still more glad to see the innocent acquitted, for I have noticed that whenever citizens are acquitted by the tribunal people weep for joy, men as well as women.

POURVOYEUR.

There are still old men begging in the streets, which makes good republicans sigh at their not being cared for.

DUGASSE.

A child remarked to its mother that formerly school was very monotonous from having to kneel and repeat prayers which children did not comprehend, but now it was lively with singing patriotic hymns. Thus the child already sees the difference between the old and the new *régime*. The durability of the republic is ensured.

CHARMONT.

This morning and all day many people collected in the rue St. Louis St. Honoré to see the window from which Vemrange threw himself down last night, and the pavement on which he fell. It was said that having been discovered in a house in that little street where he was concealed, and having heard the armed force at the door, he wrapped himself in one of the sheets of his bed and threw himself from the fourth story into the street. Not being quite dead, he was taken to the hospital.

DUGASSE.

A pretended banker saw his name placarded, and expected to be arrested. Hearing a knock at his door, he broke a large square of glass and threw himself into the street. He died shortly afterwards. After hearing some observations, one man said, "As well be dead as go to prison, for you will see that the prison massacres ordered by Pétion will be repeated," and this probably terrifies the prisoners.

LETASSEY.

14 *Pluviôse.*

Apropos of the rue St. Louis, I should remark that people have long been grumbling at the slowness of the civic baptism of streets which recall the odious images of tyranny and superstition.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

It was noticed to-day that a vestige of the old Sunday was observed. The theatres were more crowded, and the women more dressed.

DUGASSE.

Mass was celebrated this [Sunday] morning in the Assumption church. A large number of persons were present, but at the end of the ceremony it is alleged that three or four Jacobins in red caps, posted at the church door with a register, demanded the names and addresses of all present before allowing them to leave. This measure, which is denounced as illegal and vexatious, disquiets many people.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

People in different groups said, "So we are not free. Liberty of worship has been decreed, and you see how we are treated."¹

JAROUSSEAU.

16 *Pluviôse.*

The decree on the liberty of men of colour has evoked the warmest enthusiasm. . . . It is regarded as the death-warrant of all tyrants.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

17 *Pluviôse.*

The decree on the enfranchisement of the negroes was discussed in a café near the Italian Comedy. It was said that both the mulattoes and the whites now in the colonies would consequently be massacred. Near Nicolet's, working-class women spoke of negresses. They said, "What nice black sisters are given us, but we can never associate with such women."

BACON.

¹ It appears from another report that the priest was alleged to have prayed for "the King," the imprisoned Dauphin.

People were glad to see the countess [marchioness] de Marbœuf and her worthy partner [steward] condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal. "The guillotine," they said, "is too mild for them."¹

POURVOYEUR.

It seems that wedding dinners, which are very numerous, should be temporarily prohibited, for a large quantity of meat is thus consumed, and everybody knows how dear and difficult to procure it is. Those who give these feasts are not sans-culottes, but persons favoured by fortune.

ROLIN.

18 *Pluviôse*.

Beggars, to excite pity and obtain more alms, go about the streets with three or four infants hanging at their necks, most of whom do not belong to them, but are kidnapped. Four female wretches accused of this horrible crime were taken to-day to the Mountain section.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

The decree of the Commune forbidding masters, fathers, and mothers to inflict corporal punishment is thought strange. This makes children naughty, and go all lengths in audacity and vice.

ROLIN.

19 *Pluviôse*.

The political horizon seems to be daily darkening through the perfidious manœuvres of the enemies of the people, those vile agents of Pitt who concoct and propagate news of ever greater and greater disasters, flattering themselves that they will discourage the people, mislead them, and incite them to movements subversive of the just laws which protect liberty. . . .

On all sides are heard complaints of the revolutionary committees, which are accused of tyranny and embezzlement. There are also murmurs against the popular societies, which are suspected of leaning to federalism, and the dissolution of which, already advocated by a strong resolution of the Jacobins, seems to be generally desired.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

At the great Revolutionary Tribunal the *ci-devant* count and marquis St. Maurice, his wife and mother-in-law, the *ci-devant* marquis de Carignan, and his brother were subjected to the

¹ She had sown her fields with lucerne instead of wheat, for a change of crops.

purging vote.¹ . . . The spectators said there could be no jealousy among them ; all had to pass by the little window [guillotine].

LETASSEYE.

21 *Pluviôse*.

There is much complaint of a kind of decoration worn by citizens who are members of fraternal societies. To-day it is asserted that several have been seen in the streets with three or four medals fastened to their coats by red, blue, or white ribbon, and others with all three colours. This makes them a distinct class, and eventually may cause some trouble, for it often happens that a society expels some of its members and they refuse to discontinue wearing the medals. There will necessarily be a commotion.

There is a complaint that certain Paris sections smash and carry off the woodwork, organs, and other objects belonging to the *ci-devant* church of the 3rd arrondissement. It is asserted that masterpieces both in wood and iron have been torn to pieces.

ROLIN.

People say there is to be an invasion of England this spring, but they well remark that there is no need of this, for there will be a revolution there before then. George and his minister Pitt will have their heads cut off, as also some lords.

POURVOYEUR.

I attended the popular society at Vaugirard [then a suburban village], and here is what passed. There were many people, and the number of women in the galleries was considerable. Hay and oats and the means of keeping cattle were discussed. Everybody was anxious to give his opinion, and the society came to very wise resolutions. Catechisms for children were next read. The secretary and president exhorted the women who had children to make them learn by heart the Declaration of Rights. (Applauded.) A little work by citizen Bellavoine, ex-monk and clerk to the municipality,² was also read. This little work dwelt on fanaticism, and the crimes and wickedness of priests. The author made you strongly feel how the people have been deceived by so many do-nothings, who, he said, quaffed the pure blood coursing in their veins while putting them to sleep with *oremus's*. This phrase was much applauded and made the *citoyennes* laugh much.

BACON.

¹ For corresponding with *émigrés*.

² Probably the priest of Vaugirard who had figured in Gobel's procession to the Convention, November 7, 1793.

It is incredible how many citizens went to-day [Sunday] to the *Enfant Jésus*, *barrière d'Enfer*, to hear mass. This begins to disquiet many friends of tranquillity, especially the parade with which these citizens went to make their devotions.

CHARMONT.

The prisoners of St. Lazare, faubourg St. Denis, tried to revolt.¹ The guard had to be doubled to put them down. This was because the ill-disposed had spread a rumour that the Convention was going to release a large number elsewhere, and they said: "We are left to perish here; we are not interrogated; the *ci-devants* have the preference." These expressions disturb people's minds, and are circulated in many *cafés*.

23 *Pluviôse*.

A citizen passed to-day under the arcades of Palais Égalité, and seeing busts of Marat and Lepelletier² at the door of a *citoyenne* who sells them, he asked what they were. The *citoyenne* replied that he must know. He instantly tried to smash them, but several citizens being there seized him by the collar and took him to the police-station.

MERCIER.

Surprise is excited at seeing citizen Delaunay, a member of the Commune, buried on the boulevard. "When there is a cemetery," people say, "why are not the burials there? Was he an extraordinary man that he should have a distinctive place? If all members of popular societies who die are buried on the highways, the boulevards will soon be covered with tombs." The grave, moreover, is not deep enough, and it is to be feared that a fetid odour will exhale.

BÉRAUD.

24 *Pluviôse*.

Mendicity is daily fearfully on the increase in the streets of Paris. They are mostly crowded with children, women, and old men.

DUGASSE.

Republicans still look askance on the black plumes adorning the Henry IV. caps of the magistrates of the people, the organs of justice. "Sans-culotte judges," some citizens remarked, "ought to sit only in pantaloons and red caps. The costume of liberty should be the first object to strike the eye of the dastards who have betrayed it."

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

¹ This is contradicted by another observer.

² Assassinated for voting for the death of Louis XVI.

At porte St. Antoine there was a scuffle for milk. The milk-woman, by way of consolation, said the cows were being killed for want of fodder. BACON.

25 *Pluviôse.*

"Why," it was asked in a group in the rue St. Honoré as a condemned man went to execution, "why refuse to those condemned to death the succour of the religion which they profess? There is no law against liberty of worship, and in the very centre of Paris mass is daily celebrated. The people scout dogmas, and that is enough; should we be more rigorous towards those who have only a few minutes to live?" "You are quite right," replied a citizen to the man who had thus spoken, "and if I were a legislator I should let the Catholic have his priest in these last moments, the Jew his rabbi, &c., so that in preparing for this fatal journey everybody should at least have the liberty of packing up (*faire son paquet*) as he chose."

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

The streets are still disgracefully dirty. The public promenades are full of filth, and if they are still left neglected they will become a poisonous surface which would have to be shunned.

DUGASSE.

26 *Pluviôse.*

"When will the guillotine end?" was asked in a small group in the Place de la Révolution this afternoon.¹ "It is not tired of guillotining at least two a day." It was surprising, people remarked, to what a degree women have become ferocious. They assemble every day at the executions.

POURVOYEUR.

28 *Pluviôse.*

It is especially at the theatres we notice that many *citoyennes* still observe the former Sunday. To-day they were crowded, and more women than men. Their dress showed, moreover, that they were *en cérémonie*.

The scarcity to-day has been extreme, especially in vegetables, the diet of the poor. The dismay was so great that I saw several persons shed tears, exclaiming, "What is to become of us? If this goes on we shall be starved to death."

¹ Three persons were executed that day.

30 *Pluviose*.

Many citizens walking in the boulevard du Temple, perceiving the grave of Delaunay, drew back with horror, and promised to speak of it at their sections. The women left that side of the promenade and went on the other.

Children having planted a tree of liberty at the crossways in front of the rue faubourg du Temple, where there was formerly a crucifix, several ill-disposed men, disguised as artisans, went to remove it; but these children, perceiving this, vigorously objected, and went with tears in their eyes to the general assembly of the Temple section to ask for the support of the citizens, and the latter are to take turns in watching over this valuable tree. BÉRAUD.

It is asserted that the prisoners at Petite Force are in wretched plight, that they have nothing to lie upon, and that they lack necessities, while the rich are in the houses of detention as if in their own palaces, and are treated as *ci-devants*. This seems to make much sensation among the public. ROLIN.

A man entered the house of citizen de Buffon,¹ rue de Matignon No. 9, Champs-Élysées section, in order, as he told him, to arrest him. Citizen de Buffon asked for his authority. The man replied that this was needless, and that if he would give him money he could arrange the affair. Thereupon he [Buffon] shut the door and had him arrested and taken to the section.² FRÉRON.

Nearly all the grocers closed to-day, in spite of the injunction of the Commune to keep open. It was pitiable in several quarters, where the people could not procure the few provisions of daily use. There was much grumbling at the remissness of the authorities in not enforcing the laws favourable to the masses. All the theatres to-day were crammed. It provoked indignation to see so many citizens occupied with frivolous plays and songs while our brave

¹ The naturalist's son. It is curious to see this mixture of Jacobin and aristocratic appellations.

² But the man had a confederate who at once retaliated by denouncing Buffon, and the latter was a few hours later arrested. He sent Fouquier Tinville a full explanation, urging, moreover, that he had not seen his first wife, "the infamous mistress of Orleans," for eight years, and had divorced her as soon as divorces were instituted, marrying again eight months ago. Fouquier made a note in the margin of the letter that an inquiry into Buffon's statements should be made, but this he apparently forgot, and Buffon was guillotined on the 10th July 1794 for the pretended Luxembourg prison plot.

brothers are shedding their blood for liberty. "Why," people said, "are theatres open on Décadi? Is it not like inviting us to desert the meetings where the interests of the nation are discussed? Décadis are holy days, when the people should be solely occupied with the welfare of the republic." These reflections were much applauded.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

The boulevards, promenades, and theatres presented the aspect of a happy and contented people, despite all the mischief that enemies outside and inside are trying to work.¹

DUGASSE.

In the morning there was a ceremony at the Châlier section for the unveiling of the bust of Châlier,² the new pattern, and all, with a discourse suited to the ceremony, was much applauded. Never had there been so many people at a festival. Reason dominates, and has gained ascendancy over the hearts of Frenchmen.

1 *Ventôse* (19th February 1794).

Two citizens, being in the café at the corner of the rue des Bons Enfants and the rue St. Honoré, began singing a patriotic song. The landlord, who is an aristocrat [reactionary], said they should not sing on his premises. The citizens said to him, "But what we sing is patriotic." "No matter, you shall not sing in my house." This angered the citizens, and from words they came to blows, but other citizens parted them. The two citizens, on leaving, said to the aristocrat, "Thou deservest to be denounced."

MONIER.

Near the Jardin des Plantes a numerous group were discussing Robespierre's illness. They seemed much concerned, and said that if Robespierre died all was lost. "He alone," said a woman, "baffles all the schemes of the wretches. God alone can guarantee the life of that incorruptible patriot." All heaved a deep sigh. I noticed that when the sans-culottes talked of Robespierre's indisposition well-dressed men did not utter a word, but an air of satisfaction was perceptible on their countenances.

BACON.

Artisans complain that they can no longer go to wine-shops for their meals. The landlords daily raise their prices. Some days ago they could dine for 10 sous, but now they have to give 15, bread included.

FRÉRON.

¹ But another observer, after speaking of the merry throng all along the boulevards, says, "Many citizens state that for some days they have not tasted meat, vegetables being their only food."

² A Lyons patriot, guillotined 16th July 1793.

The other day, in the rue de la Montagne St. Geneviève, nearly all occupied by butchers, a woman among a crowd which besieged the stall went to one of them. When her turn came to be served, she asked for what meat she wanted, and reckoning up the amount according to the maximum, she handed the sum to the butcher, asking him whether it was right. "No," said the man. "Well," replied the woman, "if it is not your reckoning it is that of the law." Thereupon she went off, spite of the outcry of the butcher, who was forced to put up with it. This proves that the numerous flagrant violations of the maximum law arise much more from the weakness of buyers than from the roguery and audacity of sellers, and that in the eyes of the law one is not more culpable than the other, men being unfortunately like sheep, and not rising to the sentiment of their rights and interests except by example. The crowd in this case, witnessing the firmness and especially the success of our heroine, insisted on having meat at the same price. The butcher resisted, there was an uproar, the guard was sent for, and my man was taken off to prison.

PERRIÈRE.

The boys called *enfants de la patrie* [foundlings] are inconceivably corrupted. Yesterday in the national Jardin des Plantes, they set off singing the most obscene songs, which made the people murmur. Their teacher showed no shame. Citizens attribute this to citizen Chaumette, for procuring the abolition of corporal punishment.

MERCIER.

Robespierre was reported to-day to be worse. This news much affected the true friends of the country. It was stated at the same time that Couthon was better.

2 Ventôse.

One is indignant at hearing everywhere cried with a kind of affectation the list of the guillotined. Anti-revolutionary intentions cannot but be attributed to those who publish this work. There is no middle course. Either it is a list of proscription and infamy for the families of the condemned, or it is an attempt to render the tribunal odious to all France, and this is the more probable inasmuch as if the publisher had patriotic intentions he would not have failed to append the more numerous and more consoling list of those acquitted by the tribunal. There is a cry on all hands for the suppression of this pamphlet. People even wish the author to be prosecuted, unless well-known patriotism demonstrated his good intentions.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

It is whispered about everywhere that Robespierre was poisoned, but the antidotes administered make us hope we shall soon see him reappear still more radiant with glory.

BÉRAUD.

Near the Commune [Hôtel de Ville] there was much talk of the notary who killed himself in the rue de l'Égalité. One said, "It would not be amiss if all notaries did the same, for there is not one who is really a patriot." "That is true," people remarked.

BACON.

I entered one of the most frequented cafés of the maison Égalité [Palais Royal]. I tried to ascertain the cause of [the taciturnity] which I had seen. The few persons whom I found inclined to talk were, like me, ignorant of it. Others had the air of avoiding any question as a trap. Nearly all talked of trivial matters, as though there was no fatherland, and passed the time in frivolous games. This silence is vexatious. It can arise only from two causes—either from the aristocracy, who know that their talk would not be allowed, or from the timidity and distrust of patriots, who are generally outspoken, lest some malicious person should profit by any unguarded expression to accuse them and represent them as guilty in spite of their innocence.

PERRIÈRE.

It was rumoured that Robespierre was better, and even went out to-day. . . . There is the same throng at the butchers' doors from six in the morning as there was at the bakers' at the time of the difficulty of procuring bread.

DUGASSE.

Crowds no longer collect at the bakers' doors, but at the butchers', pork-butchers', and the tobacco warehouse, formerly hotel Longueville. A large crowd of citizens daily flock the streets. In the rue du Rohan in particular the citizens were ranged four abreast from the pork-butcher's door nearly up to the rue Nicaise. "How is it," citizens said, "that to get a quarter or half a pound of bacon we must spend nearly the whole day at a shop door?" "There is certainly," replied another, "malice against us." Two guards were stationed at the door to keep the multitude in order.

CHARMASSE.

At the Gardes Françaises section two doctors stated that they had many patients who had no broth, being unable to procure meat, though they had special tickets, and that several lying-in women were in the same case. Another citizen said that good citizens

lacked everything, while the ill-disposed lacked nothing, for that morning at the door of his house there were at least twelve pounds of raw meat thrown out and spoiled.

MONIER.

In a café in the rue St. Denis there was talk of the arrests. A citizen said, "In the last few days the revolutionary committee of the Lombards section has arrested at least fifty persons whose patriotism and probity are acknowledged. That committee seems bent on locking up all heads of households, in order to make the Commune fall by a rising among those dependent on the shopkeepers."

BÉRAUD.

3 *Ventôse*.

Four men employed in taking away the coffins from the churches relate that bodies have been taken up and not carried to the cemeteries. The commissaries appointed for that purpose would not allow it. These men said that jewels had certainly been found, and that the persons buried there were very rich, for there were large silver plates on the coffins, with inscriptions.

FRÉRON.

It was stated that Chaudot's wife, in despair since her husband's execution, had thrown herself from the window, and that she was *enceinte*. People did not fail to add on this point the tragical story of Auriol's wife, at Lyons, who threw herself into the Rhone with her two children in like circumstances.

DUGASSE.

Café de Foix. This café, so much frequented and so abounding in politicians, was full to-day, like all public places, with the apathetic or the deaf and dumb, afraid of listening or speaking. Yesterday the newspaper was read out, which, like the sermons of famous preachers, drew a crowd of hearers so large that the *queue* extended nearly up to the wine-shop. After the reading, which thereby became still more like a sermon, dead silence, or conversations in a whisper on other things, games, and drinks.

PERRIÈRE.

The Contrat Social section by wise forethought, feeling the desirability of providing for the subsistence of women bearing subjects to the republic, has just established a hospital where pregnant women will go and will find the broth and meat necessary in such circumstances. This has excited the emulation of the other sections, and several already propose to imitate it.

HANRIOT.

4 *Ventôse*.

The popular assembly of the Rights of Man section was very numerously attended. Robespierre's speech, or rather his report on behalf of the Public Safety Committee, was read. This occupied an hour and a half, because at every paragraph the reader was applauded. . . . Indivisibilité section has sent a deputation to the popular societies to inform them that at the hotel [prison] de la Force there were underground passages by which live oxen, calves, and sheep were smuggled in. This gross abuse will be reported to the Convention.

BACON.

The appearance of Paris begins to become alarming. In the markets and streets you meet a large crowd of citizens running, dashing against each other, shouting, weeping, everywhere presenting the image of despair. Seeing all this you would imagine Paris to be already a prey to the horrors of famine. But what is very consoling for the patriot and very creditable to the republican populace is to see this mass of citizens amidst their great disquietudes submissive to the laws, and respecting the property even of those whom they most suspect of trying to starve them.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

Two citizens in different quarters state that they have found glass in the bread. . . . Many girls of ten or twelve or even younger prostitute themselves with boys of the same age. Yesterday the palace Égalité was full of them. It is even alleged that mothers give up their daughters to libertines for money.

ROLIN.

Several citizens said it would be very advisable to have all pleasure gardens cultivated, and force the owners to sow or plant the necessaries of life, instead of having shrubberies and English gardens. It is surprising what a quantity of vegetables and other things might be produced if such a scheme were carried out.

FRÉRON.

A caricature appears showing Pitt, whip in hand, driving all the kings of Europe. The Pope is behind him, and whips him in his turn.

DUGASSE.

5 *Ventôse*.

This morning the faubourg St. Antoine occupied the Vincennes road and pillaged all that was being brought to Paris. Some paid,

others carried off things without paying. The peasants in dismay will bring nothing more to Paris.¹

SIRET.

Bitter complaints, already expressed numberless times, were repeated to-day of the arrest and imprisonment of citizens who are good patriots and are victims of ambition, cupidity, jealousy, and in short every human passion.

ROLIN.

6 Ventôse.

At half-past four yesterday, passing the Place de la Révolution, I was struck by the spectacle of seventeen conspirators condemned to death — four women, who were first despatched,² and then thirteen men. The first was an old man of eighty. Feebleness and age did not allow him to mount the steps, and he had to be carried up to the scaffold. Humanity in other circumstances would have elicited pity and commiseration, but national vengeance taking the place of pity, there were only cries, when his head fell, of "Bravo!" "*Vive la république!*"

HANRIOT.

Seventeen criminals were this evening taken to the scaffold, among whom was particularly noticed an old man, nearly ninety [Schmitt], and so feeble that it is said he had to be carried to the scaffold. The people seemed much touched by the spectacle. "What crime," said several, "could a man in that state of decrepitude have committed? Why does not old age, which is so much like childhood, partake all its privileges?" This feeling appeared to be general.³ Indignation was expressed at the kind of brutality with which the executioner fulfils his duties. He seized several of these criminals, it is said, with a roughness which revolted many of the spectators.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

8 Ventôse.

There is much complaint of the prodigious number of cripples of all kinds who parade their infirmities in the streets and public squares. Several of them have maladies and wounds calculated to produce very bad effects on pregnant women.

ROLIN.

¹ Other observers speak of similar scenes, and one suggests that the suburban market-gardeners should give notice of their arrival, so that an escort might meet and protect them.

² Two of them were sisters, governesses at Orleans, who had sheltered two priests; the octogenarian was Guillaume Schmitt, of Sarrelouis, accused of sending money to *émigrés*.

³ Latour was not apparently a spectator, but his report, seemingly contradicting Hanriot's, may have been correct as to a portion of the crowd.

11 *Ventôse.*

In consequence of what I was told I have been to Villette. Here is a great abuse which I denounce, and which is one of the reasons why the people lack everything. Would you believe it? Well, the market-women go to Villette, feast scandalously, meet the market-gardeners, with whom they make a compact, drink to excess, and devise their schemes. The provisions which these women buy they wrap in small bundles, and have children with them who carry them, but taking different routes, and these bundles are for rich people and restaurant-keepers. This traffic is terrible for friends of liberty.

BÉRAUD.

Yesterday, on the Place de la Révolution, a somewhat considerable group of men and women expressed pity for the two persons going to the guillotine.

HANRIOT.

12 *Ventôse.*

This afternoon, on the Place de la Révolution, during the guillotining¹ a *citoyenne* said "*Quelle horreur!*" Several citizens took her to task. "Do you mean that you are sorry to see conspirators punished?" "No," she said, "I meant that it was surprising that when guillotining goes on like this the rest do not learn a lesson from it." On seeing peasants on the scaffold, people said, "What, have these wretches allowed themselves to be corrupted? If they were nobles or rich it would not be strange their being counter-revolutionists, but in that class we should expect all to be patriots." "The law is just," people remarked, "it strikes rich and poor indiscriminately." The verdicts of the Revolutionary Tribunal are always applauded.

POURVOYEUR.

13 *Ventôse.*

The popular assembly of section Bon Conseil continued the purge of members of the society. . . . A tobacconist, aged 68, who has always performed his patrol duty, was excluded for having called the president *monsieur* and for having spoken at the tribune bareheaded. Members alleged that he must be a moderate.

BACON.

14 *Ventôse.*

Every day women are injured [in the *queues*]. Yesterday especially many had to be taken home seriously injured. To-day

¹ Fourteen victims.

the crowd at the butchers' doors began at 2 A.M. A member of the revolutionary committee of section Cité tried to disperse the crowd, but he was near being strangled by the women, who indulged in very anti-civic talk against the Revolution.

CHARMONT.

The Champs-Élysées are still infested with rogues, thieves, and assassins. The wine-shops at the entrance near the Place de la Révolution are their lairs. It is high time to destroy these lairs, as well as all the games and other stupidities near the Pont Tour-nant which serve to amuse them.

FRÉRON.

In a group it was argued that all useless dogs, that is to say those kept for pleasure, should be killed. It was remarked that assuming only 50,000 dogs in Paris, and that they consume a quarter of a pound of bread a day, this makes 2500 loaves. . . . Several persons applauded this calculation, and it was the general opinion that only butchers' dogs, and some others of necessary utility, should be preserved.

BÉRAUD.

The masons and carpenters will no longer work at the old wages. Every decade they demand an increase of ten sous. So also with the labourers in these two classes. They are now being paid ten sous a day. If any demur is made to their immoderate demands they threaten to strike. Returning home at nine yesterday evening, I heard seven or eight workmen at a street corner agreeing among themselves not to go back to work. This resolution was probably due to their masters' refusal to raise their wages. There is an outcry on all sides against this tyranny of the workmen. It is hoped and expected that in the new maximum their wages will be regulated, for the maximum, it is urged, is illusory if manual labour, which is merchandise like any other, and is the necessary basis of the price of all other articles, is not included and reduced to a proportionate rate.

Artisans come punctually [to the popular assemblies] to get their attendance registered and obtain their forty sous, and then go out and drink nearly all the time of the discussion which might enlighten them, not returning till the time for getting back their cards and receiving their pay.

PERRIÈRE.

15 Ventôse.

A cart loaded with beans arriving at a grocer's door in the rue de Bretagne, section Temple, a considerable crowd of *citoyennes* and

men doubtless ill-disposed rushed on these vegetables with such avidity that the guard was driven off and disarmed, and all was pillaged. But few persons paid for what they took. BÉRAUD.

At the section la Montagne there arrived a deputation from section Sans-culottes. Its object was the education so much desired by all good citizens. It wishes for primary schools to be opened as soon as possible throughout France, only one school in each parish and all the children to be dressed alike. They should be taught to pronounce no words of which they did not know the meaning, pictures should be placed before them to give them an idea of each object, example should always precede precept, and physical and moral qualities should be developed by gymnastic exercises.

HANRIOT.

16 *Ventôse*.

A citizen whom I accosted while a man¹ was being taken to execution said to me that the guillotine was not yet ready to rest, but awaited 20,000 more. "What!" said I, rather surprised, "in Paris alone?" "Oh, no," he replied, rather disconcerted, "all over France."

BÉRAUD.

17 *Ventôse*.

Several sections propose to petition the National Convention to forbid confectioners to make cakes as long as the scarcity lasts, as they require much butter and many eggs.² The perfumers also use many potatoes for pommades. It would be well to stop this.

18 *Ventôse*.

On the boulevard, near the café de la Société, several men and women were talking of priests. One said, "We are saved if we can get rid of priests." Another said, "I cannot understand why the Protestants still hold their preachings as formerly, for I lately entered the *ci-devant* church St. Louis and I noticed that the Protestant minister still spoke of Jesus Christ. I conclude that a Protestant priest and a Catholic priest are much alike. The Convention should drive them all out, so as to give no room for jealousy." All the small group said, "That is true; all priests are scoundrels."

BACON.

¹ Robin, tradesman at Troyes, aged 74, and of weak intellect.

² In a later report Bacon states that the confectioners' shops had nothing to sell, and that a citizen wishing for refreshments had consequently to go to a wine-shop at greater expense.

21 *Ventôse*.

Groups collected near the Revolutionary Tribunal, and citizens unanimously expressed surprise that the judges no longer sat in the evening. "The judges," it was remarked, "are tired, and must rest after dinner. What harm is there in that? The aristocrats who would have been condemned at night are guillotined a day later." "All very well," said an honest citizen, "but the innocent whom they would have acquitted are also a day later." "Bravo, you are quite right," rejoined the first speaker. Great publicity should be given to this anecdote, which reflects honour on mankind.

BOUCHESEICHE.

Much complaint is made of there being still citizens who are in the wine-shops from morning to night, and every day sing, eat, drink, and get drunk. At 9 yesterday morning a number of men so drunk as to be unable to stand were seen. About 10 I counted seven on my way. . . . A number of people complain and proclaim loudly that they have not tasted meat for a fortnight, and that artisans have not strength for work. I testify that it is urgent to forbid aristocrats having several dishes at a meal, for there are still some who have three or four.

ROLIN.

22 *Ventôse*.

A citizen said he did not comprehend the Revolutionary Tribunal. The nun who had just lost her life¹ did not deserve to be guillotined, but at most to be transported. Several people asking whether he thought the judges capable of condemning any one who did not deserve it, he replied that he judged by the interrogatory which he had heard that morning. Thereupon he went off. I followed him to the boulevard du Temple, where he disappeared by a staircase.

MERCIER.

"Seeing that tradesmen," said a citizen in a group near the Convention, "are forced to sell at the maximum provisions capable of adulteration, it is necessary to watch them, and from time to time test their goods, for it is to be presumed that a man buying brandy at 50 sous a pint, and forced by the maximum to sell at 36, will use every means of avoiding loss."

LE HARIVEL.

The scarcity of candles is increasingly felt. Numbers of citizens are without any, and are forced to stop work early. I went to

¹ Sophie Adelaide Leclerc-Glatigny, aged 27, for anti-civic talk.

several shops and could not get any. I asked a chandler the reason. He said it was very simple; they were out of stock. "After losing 600 francs by the nation I have no longer any goods. I cannot even get meat to make broth for a sick member of my family."

HANRIOT.

The people grumble a good deal against the civil commissaries¹ who preside over the distribution of the necessaries of life. They are accused of getting served first and of favouring their acquaintances.

ROLIN.

24 *Ventôse*.

Near the café Conti, rue de Thionville, a rather numerous group discussed Hébert's arrest. A man of about thirty, in national guard uniform, said, "So Père Duchesne is arrested. This surprises many people, especially patriots. If this goes on, good-bye to liberty; all is over." Then all dispersed without uttering a word.

BACON.

Everywhere the arrests were approved, but as the nature of their conspiracy was not yet known they were honoured only with the title of intriguers.

DUGASSE.

26 *Ventôse*.

The seven [fifteen] persons² condemned yesterday went to the scaffold singing, laughing, and dancing. The Vendée general and the chief clerk at the War Office were prominent by their liveliness.

PERRIÈRE.

The usual throng at the provision shops. The women seem to have made up their minds to sacrifice their mornings [in waiting outside]. Butter and eggs are coming in a little more every day, and there is a sensible increase.

CLÉMENT.

28 *Ventôse*.

In the rue Charenton, near the Quinze-Vingts hospital, five or six women were speaking of Père Duchesne's arrest. I went up to them and found that one said, "I have just this moment learned in the faubourg Antoine that Robespierre is in prison." "What?" replied the other, "it is not possible?" "Well," rejoined the first, "many say so. I have also seen a laundress in the rue du Bon

¹ Members of the civil committees of the sections.

² From Clamécy and Nevers, charged with Girondism.

Conseil who says the same." . . . I went to Montmartre, and met at least ten persons who asked me whether it was true that Robespierre was arrested. I replied that I knew nothing of it, and that it should not be credited till the Convention announced it.¹

BACON.

29 *Ventôse*.

It is remarked that in spite of the law forbidding substitutes to mount guard, the guard service is always full of substitutes, which makes it very ill performed. Most of the defaulters are young men. This should no longer be allowed. The national guard duty should be well performed just now more than ever.

POURVOYEUR.

A grocer in the rue des Nonaindaines distributed salted butter to at least four or five hundred persons ranged in line. They themselves kept order.

30 *Ventôse*.

We read on the door and walls of the Observatory: "National building to be sold." It must be by mistake that this inscription has been placed on a building erected at great cost by a despot's pride, but which a free and enlightened nation should devote to the progress of science. . . . Formerly we saw more women than men in churches, and so also in the temples of Reason there are few men and many women.

BOUCHESEICHE.

2 *Germinal*.

There was talk in the café de la Justice, in front of the Palace [of Justice] that it was the Hébert faction which had tried to indoctrinate the people with an idea of an invasion of England, and that if the Convention had had the misfortune to fall into the trap the republic would have been ruined.

CHARMONT.

The distrust of those who affect to wear, and even exaggerate, the pretended republican costume increases daily. . . .

Yesterday the courts of the Palace and the adjoining streets were so crowded that it was impossible to approach. Many expressed a desire to see the conspirators beheaded. It was remarked that of all the accused Hébert showed the most cowardice.

HANRIOT.

¹ No newspaper ventured to speak of this rumour.

In the Gardes Françaises society a citizen commissary for the distribution of meat denounced the butcher of the rue Fossés St. Germain Auxerrois as having cut up his meat at two in the morning. He heard him at work from his bed. The conduct of this butcher is reprehensible, because it was like an invitation to passers-by to collect outside, which did not fail to happen, for the commissary went at five and found a prodigious number of people, forming two *queues*. When the distribution commenced there was frightful disorder.

MONIER.

The judges of the 2nd arrondissement, it is noticed with pleasure, have given up their monarchical costume, and have substituted the cap of liberty for the Henri IV. cap. It is hoped that the other tribunals, especially the Revolutionary Tribunal, will lose no time in following the example.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

Some Parisians on marrying hold the festival in the neighbourhood of these villages [Sceaux, &c.], either for cheapness or to enjoy the pure country air. It would be well if all who make a feast followed this example. They should be required to do this as long as the scarcity of provisions lasts.

DUGASSE.

Mendicity: public opinion pronounces more and more strongly against this stain on governments, especially a government like ours. . . . These sad objects now flood all the public squares, and have not even the merit of asking alms in republican fashion, for it is always in the name of objects of superstition that they appeal to humane citizens. Several of them, examined in the groups into which they had crept to solicit alms, have been found perfectly sound, without any of the sores or infirmities to which they pretended. It is even said that a mastiff worked a miracle in the person of one of these impostors who was being taken to a revolutionary committee, for the animal touching him behind, my man, who had been limping, began walking properly. . . . I had forgotten to add on this subject that people seem to fear these beggars are paid to go about and thus virtually cast a stigma on the government, and by their old fashion of asking alms keep up the signs of religious superstition.

PERRIÈRE.

Drunkards have fearfully multiplied. You cannot walk four steps without meeting them. Most of them insult passers-by, especially such citizens as wear a *carmagnole* or a beaver hat.

3 *Germinal*.¹

The public promenades and boulevards presented a throng of persons in their best clothes. It is a proof that fanaticism and superstition have still a prodigious number of partisans in Paris.

4 *Germinal*.

The procession [Hébert, Cloots, and sixteen others] seemed a festival rather than an execution. Most of them had a very tranquil air. Hébert was the most downcast.²

CHARMONT.

6 *Germinal*.

It is now almost as difficult to get milk as meat. From four in the morning there were groups waiting at the spots where the milkwomen are accustomed to stop. The milkwomen allege that it is difficult to get from the barriers to their destination.³

SIRET.

8 *Germinal*.

Two persons, one a Capucin monk [Peusselet], have been guillotined. Two or three women said they had come only because they thought it was Chabot who was to be despatched, but they would come again and see him when his turn came.⁴

SOULET.

Mourning is in the heart. The sober spirit of the republic has banished all that is simply external. Those who feel what befits the republic would like to forbid the wearing of mourning. This custom, which adds nothing to real grief and often simulates it, is especially impolitic at a time when liberty can be founded only on the courage and devotedness of its defenders. Mourning makes you count up its victims. This gloomy aspect gives young men melancholy reflections, and warns fathers and mothers of the misfortunes awaiting them.

PERRIÈRE.

¹ Sunday, 23rd March 1794.

² Other reports speak of an enormous crowd, of the general satisfaction of the spectators, and of many cases of pocket-picking.

³ They were apparently interrupted by customers on the way. Wine, according to another report, was plentiful.

⁴ He was guillotined on the 16th.

9 *Germinal*.

Although a considerable number of gamblers were lately arrested at the hôtel d'Angleterre and in some houses of the *ci-devant* Palais Royal garden, this does not prevent *loto* from being played every afternoon at No. 231.

MONIER.

Women who went to the Commune to complain of their butcher having charged more than the maximum were arrested and imprisoned for having bought at that price; but to-day's decree, punishing the butchers alone who do not obey the maximum law, has been welcomed with a kind of transport, and will doubtless entail the release of these women. This was the feeling of several citizens collected in various groups.

"I have just been witness," said a citizen in the same café [de la République], "of an accident of daily occurrence, yet which it would be easy to prevent. A pregnant woman on seeing six persons on their way to execution fainted and fell, and it is feared that the fall may endanger her and her infant. Why," added this citizen, "is there not a fixed route from which the executioner cannot deviate, thus allowing those incapable of supporting the spectacle to avoid it?"¹ This reflection was approved, and it was suggested that the procession should always go by the quays, where the traffic is usually less considerable.

LATOUR-LAMONTAGNE.

Surprise is felt at the same persons daily filling the tribunals and the galleries of the Commune and clubs. Their appearance, people say, proves that they cannot remain so assiduously in these places without at least the hope of recompense, for what do they live upon?²

10 *Germinal*.

The revolutionary committees are every day falling into discredit. You daily hear that they consist of a number of intriguers, who plunder the nation and oppress citizens. It is a fact that there is no section in Paris which is not dissatisfied with its revolutionary committee or does not sincerely desire to have them abolished.

¹ Perrière on the 17 and 18 Ventôse had made the same suggestion, a girl having fainted on seeing the carts.

² It is evident that there was a paid *claque*.

Here, unfortunately, on the eve of the trial of Danton, end the reports of the observers. The municipality had also, as part of its police, a department of "surveillance de l'esprit public." It was in charge of La Sosse or L. Clément, who drew up a daily report, chiefly devoted to the food difficulty. I have found some of these reports,¹ but they are in general much more meagre than those of the observers. I give specimens which show that the food difficulty was still acute, that the victims of the guillotine excited no compassion, some of them indeed meeting death with derision, that Catholicism had not wholly disappeared, that royalist cries were occasionally uttered, and that thieves and beggars were numerous.

4 Germinal (24th March 1794).

Opinions are divided, and the groups yesterday were extremely excited. It was remarked that in several groups many strangers, especially disguised soldiers, spoke, and in their observations showed more vehemence than the citizens of Paris on the circumstances respecting the accused. But people calmly await the trial, yet they are incensed against the accused, and precautions will have to be taken in case of condemnation.

6 Germinal.

It was remarked with pain on the 4th that the guillotine on the Place de Grève was not ready at the moment when it should have been, and that the condemned man² had to wait more than twenty minutes for the execution of his sentence. The people grumbled a good deal.

8 Germinal.

There are slight murmurs by some at the time wasted in waiting at shop doors and markets, yet the constituted authorities are respected.

10 Germinal.

It is remarked that for some days in the groups and cafés the great talkers are silent. Some men are still persuaded that Hébert has been the victim of his patriotism, but they say so in a low tone. We are waiting for them to speak aloud, and are watching them.

¹ W. 140, 154, 170.

² Poitou, a priest who had taken the oath, but was said to have spoken of Louis XVI. as innocent.

11 *Germinal.*

There is a little uneasiness respecting the dismissals and arrests of public functionaries. There is regret that men who appeared to deserve the public confidence should be presumed guilty. This trial is urgent. The ill-disposed, applauding these measures, seem to try and turn them to their own profit, but patriots of good faith, whose eyes are ever open on the events of the revolution, have unabated confidence in the Convention.

12 *Germinal.*

The uneasiness of good patriots at the arrest of Danton and other deputies sensibly diminishes. The indictment against them seems to have partially calmed men's minds, but people are not yet reassured as to the choice of the men who are to fill high public posts. Pitt's orators no longer talk, and give no sign of life.

14 *Germinal.*

The punishment of the traitors is everywhere discussed, and their partisans no longer venture to show themselves.

16 *Germinal.*

Yesterday's decree on accused persons who go the length of insulting national justice has been received with enthusiasm.¹

17 *Germinal.*

There was a considerable crowd yesterday both on the Place de la Révolution and on the route of the condemned.² Everybody applauded their execution. The greatest order everywhere prevailed.

18 *Germinal.*

The public mind since the execution of the traitors is assuming the tone of energy befitting the circumstances. Yesterday groups and theatres offered a less gloomy aspect, and conversation turned on the last moments of Danton, Lacroix, &c. . . . The more society is purged, the greater the mutual confidence between good citizens, and the more they watch suspicious people.

27 *Germinal.*

Yesterday's decree [for the expulsion of nobles and foreigners from Paris] was a surprise for the persons aimed at by it, and formed the subject of conversations in all the cafés. The moment it was passed people began packing up. The *ci-devant* Orleans [Palais

¹ The decree which gagged Danton and his fellow-prisoners.

² Danton, Desmoulins, and eleven others.

Royal] garden was then full of people uneasy as to means of departure. Well-informed sans-culottes calculate that Paris will have 15,000 fewer mouths to feed.

28 *Germinal*.

The thermometer of public opinion is at "set fair."

30 *Germinal*.

Everybody looks calmly on conspirators going to the scaffold. There is always a crowd to see them pass. Men's minds are more and more heated with the fire of patriotism, and all applaud revolutionary measures. Taciturn figures of antique type, apparently tired of life, are still, however, noticeable in the promenades or groups.

1 *Floréal*.¹

Fanaticism drew its last breath to-day. Several tradesmen had opened their shops without respect to the *ci-devant* Easter, and were obliged to close them for fear of being denounced in their sections by those who kept shut and who were numerous. The administration of police was at once informed of this, and hastened to invite wavering citizens to open their shops as usual, reminding them that religion had nothing in common with business. It is investigating the cause of this strange opening and closing of shops, which it presumes to be a vestige of fanaticism.

2 *Floréal*.

The way in which the *ci-devant* fête of Easter was celebrated, and the affectation of keeping shops closed in several quarters of Paris, especially in the faubourg Antoine, rather disconcerted the sans-culottes, who only acknowledge Décadis. It was remarked that many people from the country round Paris came to swell the number of the *endimanchés*, on the plea of the festival of the Eternal. The authors of this rumour of a festival, which seems to be connected with fanaticism and malice, are being searched for. Nothing, however, happened to disturb order, and the guillotine had simply all the more spectators. It is stated that an elementary schoolmistress in the rue Coquillière 335, Social Contract section, being told by her husband, who professed to have heard it from his civil committee, that there would be a festival to the Eternal, dismissed some pupils, but having learnt otherwise from the citizens sent by the administration of police to undeceive people, she called her pupils back and held her class.

¹ April 20, 1794, Easter Sunday.

4 *Floréal.*

Yesterday a man at the Revolutionary Tribunal cried "*Vive le roi!*" at the moment when the condemned persons¹ were starting for the scaffold. He was arrested. Traitors are thus unmasking. With perseverance we shall catch them all. Our dandies scarcely venture to show themselves in the public promenades. The search for them was going on to-day.

5 *Floréal.*

The widow d'Espréménil, incarcerated at the English convent, rue de Lourcine, has stabbed herself, but the wound is not mortal.

8 *Floréal.*

A man was arrested yesterday in the rue du Ponceau, quarter Denis, who was writing on the walls of that street "*Vive le roi, vive Louis XVII.*" This event shows that there is still in Paris a horde of counter-revolutionists. A general search in the forty-eight sections might produce a salutary effect, but for this purpose it would be necessary to await the expiration of the time allowed to ex-nobles and foreigners to leave Paris.

12 *Floréal.*

The journeymen bakers continue their gatherings. They will not work except for 5 francs a day and their board. Several have no cockades on their hats. . . . Prostitutes appear on the scene with all the effrontery of which they are capable.

13 *Floréal.*

The favourable news which we daily receive from our armies makes the strongest impression on men's minds. The 1st of this decade resembled the *ci-devant* Mondays. The wine-shops of Paris and its suburbs were full of citizens amusing themselves. It is surprising to see so many subordinate officers spend their time in the cafés and places of amusement.

14 *Floréal.*

Yesterday, at the guard-house of the rue Antoine, Arsenal section, women were arrested for wearing blue or white ribbons. The arrests only lasted an instant. They were released on doffing the ribbons. Persons of both sexes were also arrested for having no cockades. Orders have been given to invite such persons with all possible civility to procure cockades. . . . The quay labourers refused to work, demanding higher wages.

¹ Malesherbes, who had defended Louis XVI., and twelve others.

17 *Floréal*.

Thieves multiply. The markets are a new resource for them. They are constantly being arrested, but they laugh at punishment.

18 *Floréal*.

A new species of thief appears to-day in Paris. These men go to citizens arriving from the various departments, and under the guise of fraternity and friendship so delude them as to lead them to different wine-shops and cafés, make them drunk, and get hold of their money, substituting bits of common paper. . . . Men should be sent in the dress of country people, in order to be accosted and thereby discover the gang of these pretended obliging people. Several of them have offered gold at par for *assignats* on the pretence of rendering a service. These pretended gold coins are merely *sous*. . . . Fortune-tellers by cards are recommencing their oracles, and as far as they can, deceive weak minds. Several have been arrested. Measures are being taken to extirpate this accursed race of charlatans.

19 *Floréal*.

There are complaints of the preference shown by the commissaries in the distribution of necessities. At a distribution of butter in Observatory section there were many men. The crowd might number 2000. Several girls and women fainted. This squeeze was occasioned by a commissary of the section, who told the women to range themselves two abreast. Scarcely had they begun to do this when the shop was closed. The distribution was continued through an opening in the opposite house. There was a like crowd this morning at the new market. The crowd was so large that the national guards were near being knocked down. The women grumble, weep, and threaten. . . . The *muscadins* of the *Égalité* garden now collect in the Champs-Élysées. Their dress, their mysterious air, everything indeed shows them to be very suspicious. Among these promenaders are several of *ci-devant* Capet's body-guard.

20 *Floréal*.

At yesterday's execution¹ it was noticed that all the windows of carriage-people on the Place de la Révolution were closed in order not to see it. Their way of thinking may be construed in several ways. . . . The Convention is sincerely thanked for the

¹ Lavoisier and twenty-four other tax-farmers.

new blessing which it prepares us by providing hospitals for both sexes—for the infirm, aged, and crippled. People await the accomplishment of this measure.

21 *Floréal.*

Arrests of deserters and young men of the first requisition are frequent. . . . A turkey fetches 33 francs, a rabbit 10 francs, a chicken 10 francs, a lamb 55 francs.¹

22 *Floréal.*

The greatest tranquillity prevailed here yesterday during the executions [of princess Elisabeth and twenty-three others]. The sans-culottes were pleased to see traitors pay with their heads for the crimes against the republic by which they have sullied themselves. The cafés of the maison Égalité [Palais Royal], as well as several others where certain persons formerly strutted, now present only a melancholy desert. The houses at the extremities of Paris whose back doors open on the country occasion uneasiness, and there is fear of anti-popular societies.

23 *Floréal.*

The men employed in unloading wood from the river yesterday again refused to work. Several spent the day in wine-shops, but most, though not all, were at work to-day. Order will gradually be restored. . . . This morning, at the distribution of eggs at the market, the crowd was so great that the cavalry had to be doubled and yet could do nothing. Several women were extricated half suffocated. These crowds become more and more riotous. Even the civil commissaries and police are no longer respected. The armed force [national guards] can now do nothing. It is high time to introduce a new system of distribution.

26 *Floréal.*

In spite of the prohibition of the police, *loto* is still played in some cafés, and much money is lost. The police are about to make a raid on these cafés. . . . At the market the throng was so great that women emerged with their aprons lost or torn.

27 *Floréal.*

Four men pretending to be saltpetre commissaries searched the house of St. Cyr, rue de Berry 8, and found in one of the cellars a leaden box eighteen or twenty inches deep by six or seven wide

¹ Of course in depreciated paper-money.

containing gold, of which they took possession, leaving the box, and made off. They have been arrested by the Rights of Man section on the declaration of a citizen connected with the police, and are still at the section. . . . There are complaints of brokers at the doors of the Mont de Piété. They collect in large numbers and accost all comers, asking them whether they have anything to sell, especially jewellery.

28 *Floréal*.

Print-sellers still exhibit very obscene engravings and plaster casts. There were some yesterday on the boulevards and under the arcades of the Place de l'Indivisibilité.

1 *Prairial*.

Last night and this morning citizens and *citoyennes* were seen re-entering Paris loaded with various provisions.

2 *Prairial* (21st May 1794).

The police inspector this morning removed in the rue des Mar-mousets a sign "Hôtel Notre Dame," showing fleurs-de-lis half effaced, but all has disappeared.

4 *Prairial*.

Several women have been sent to the lock-up, Rights of Man section, for presenting themselves no less than three times over for butter.

5 *Prairial*.

The butter at the grocers is quite like suet, more than half salt, and nobody will take it.

8 *Prairial*.

Citizens went in the afternoon to the Place de la Révolution, where they witnessed the punishment of Jourdan¹ and his accomplices. All passed off very quietly. The people seemed much displeased at the mockery affected by these wretches, for nearly all were laughing up to the last moment. One of them, while being pinioned, addressing the people said, "Adieu, Sans-Farine." A citizen replied, "If we are without flour thou art about to find that we are not without iron."

¹ Nicknamed Coupe-tête, on account of his massacres at Avignon. The so-called accomplices, entirely unconnected with him, were five nobles and fourteen of Dumouriez's officers.

10 *Prairial* (29th May).

I went at seven o'clock this morning to the market. The largest crowds which I saw were at the butter and egg stalls. The women seemed much displeased and said that certain vendors had spread a report on the previous day that provisions would be given out only from seven to eight in the morning, so that *citoyennes* wanting supplies would only have that one hour, and this had occasioned the crowd. I saw that the crowds were swollen by numerous ill-disposed people and thieves who slipped among them. Peaceable *citoyennes* not venturing into the crowd for fear of being robbed, wait three or four hours without being able to procure anything and then go home. I saw *citoyennes* who had been fortunate enough to get eggs, but on coming out of the crowd found them broken in their pockets. Several of them told me that the eating-house keepers carried off everything by money, and that several of their messengers had gone with baskets full of butter and eggs.

15 *Prairial*.

The crowds at the butchers, grocers, and fruiterers seem to diminish a little. Beggars annoy the people, who complain of seeing them still, in spite of the law and of the sacrifices made to relieve them. It is high time to remedy this abuse. Yesterday the citizens waiting on the Place de Révolution for the execution of twelve condemned persons said a long time was being taken to condemn Admiral and [Cécile] Regnault.¹ I heard pity expressed for them. A citizen beside me said it was not surprising they were not executed, inasmuch as they had more than six hundred accomplices. I know this man to be a small shopkeeper in the Champs Élysées.

16 *Prairial*.

The crowds sensibly lessen.² The doors of the butchers, grocers, and fruiterers are no longer besieged.

20 *Prairial*.

The crowds still collect at the doors of the butchers and fruiterers, but are less numerous. Paris, however, is well victualled, and I see that it is possible to obtain all the eatables you

¹ Admiral fired at Collot, and Cécile Regnault was suspected of intending to stab Robespierre. Both were executed on the 29th Prairial together with fifty-two others, all in red shirts, as "parricides," Collot and Robespierre being considered fathers of the country.

² A prohibition had been issued.

want if you will pay above the maximum. The apparent scarcity of provisions arises solely from the rapacity of the tradesmen and the malice of our secret enemies.

21 *Prairial*.

Everywhere the happiest calmness has prevailed. Yesterday the people were pleased to see all their representatives¹ and to enjoy the beauty of the festival. After the ceremony they went to their homes with the tranquillity and propriety of a nation truly free. To-day they have rejoiced at the change of place of the guillotine. I heard a great number of citizens say: "With this change the sword of the law will lose none of its effect, and we can enjoy a promenade² which will become the finest in Europe."

I have reserved to the last the reports of Jacobin Décadi services, for these require a word of explanation.

In the autumn of 1793 the Paris Commune and sections undertook, after the adoption of the Jacobin calendar, the suppression of all religious services. Lacroix, not foreseeing the guillotine, had exclaimed in the Convention on the 15th August, "the Constitution is our gospel, liberty is our God, I know no other," and Gobel's renunciation of the priesthood was the signal for this movement. Church after church in Paris was closed, and by the 23rd November religious worship had ceased.

But what was to be done with the *ci-devant* churches? Nature abhors a vacuum. "*N'est détruit,*" Danton is credited with having first said, "*que ce qui est remplacé.*" Busts of Marat and Lepelletier had been installed in the section rooms, but this could hardly be considered a form of worship. Moreover the Commune, on the very day of Gobel's apostasy, had rejected the suggestion of Quinze-Vingts section that St. Antoine's church should be dedicated to Liberty, and that an altar should be erected, with a fire upon it kept up by vestal virgins. It deprecated any "simulacrum for striking the popular imagination" as unworthy of Reason and truth,

¹ At the *fête de l'Être Suprême*.

² The Champs Élysées.

sound morality and republican principles, things which should appeal not to the eyes but to the ears and minds of the public. But on the 8th November 1793 the Place Vendôme section suggested the appointment of teachers of morality, "to cast into oblivion the ridiculous sermons of the past"; the Bonnes Nouvelles section arranged for Décadi lectures in its *ci-devant* church, and the Commune invited other sections to imitate it. The Commune itself on the 1st December arranged for—shall I say a service? at any rate a gathering every Décadi in Notre Dame, the royal effigies on which, like the sculptured saints on all the other church fronts, had been effaced. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was first to be read, next the Constitution, and then any despatches from the army. New laws were also to be proclaimed. After these preliminaries there was to be an address on public morality. Patriotic hymns, with instrumental accompaniment, were to close the proceedings. After the fashion of Venice, a *bouche de vérité* was to be placed in the building, to receive complaints and suggestions, probably denunciations likewise, for the welfare of the Republic or the Commune. Anonymous notes, however, were forbidden. Every Décadi the "mouth of truth" was to disgorge.

At the Tuileries section Delaurent took for three texts the good father, the good mother, and the good son, and he printed for its use "morning and evening republican prayer," comprising an invocation to liberty, the creed, and the commandments. The "invocation" was a parody of the Lord's prayer, and the creed a parody of the Apostles' creed, one clause being: "I believe in the speedy destruction of all tyrants and rebels, in the regeneration of morals, in the diffusion of virtues, and in the everlasting dream of liberty." The eighth and ninth commandments read thus:—

À la section tu viendras,
Convoquée légalement ;
Ta boutique tu fermeras,
Chaque Décadi strictement.

The general meeting of Gobelins section resolved on opening St. Martin's church as a temple of the Supreme Being, and florists were invited to decorate it with orange trees and other shrubs.

These lectures or services took place on the Jacobin Sabbath, Décadi, and the best collection of these (shall we call them lay sermons?) is that of Guillaume Tell or Mail section, delivered in the Petits Pères church. Tell was made much of by the French revolutionists; indeed his apotheosis may be attributed to them; yet at that very time Haller, in a book publicly burnt at Berne, had first thrown doubts on his existence. The Mail section, so called from the still existing street of that name, had taken his name for its new title. "Recognising the existence of a Supreme Being, approving the abolition of error and falsehood, considering that a republic cannot exist without morality, that morality necessarily springs from virtue, and that virtue would be only an empty word without the idea of a Supreme Being who watches over oppressed innocence, and sooner or later punishes triumphant crime," it resolved that orators of morality should every Décadi deliver speeches reminding the people of their inalienable rights and of the sacred duties they have to fulfil, of marching constantly with firm step under the standards of liberty. Accordingly on the 20th November *citoyens* and *citoyennes* assembled at 11 o'clock in the new temple of morality. All the monuments, statues, pictures, and ornaments of superstition had been removed. On the high altar, amid laurels, roses, and orange trees, was a statue of liberty, six feet in height. The organ pealed the "hymn of liberty," the "Marseillaise," thousands of voices repeating the chorus:—

Aux armes, citoyens, formez vos bataillons;
Qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Citizen Étienne Barry then spoke on the origin of religious institutions. Two hundred francs were collected for suffering humanity in a basket at the foot of the statue.

Outside the temple confessional boxes, missals, relics, and ornaments were made a bonfire, amid cheers for the republic. Ten days later Gérard Michel Bontemps denounced fanaticism and "Papism." He concluded by exclaiming, "I tranquilly await the moment assigned for the destruction of this frail body. My soul will with confidence fly to Thy [God's] paternal breast; Thou wilt receive my last breath, and wilt permit it to utter once more those sacred words, *Vive la République!*" On the 20th January 1794 a poplar, as a tree of liberty, was planted in the square outside, for many trees of liberty were dead or withering, so that the Convention had ordered the substitution of new ones. Boulland spoke of the "bray" of mythological anthems and the "buzz" of dog-Latin psalms as happily superseded by republican hymns. Dancing was kept up till three next morning. Bontemps, on the 30th January, delivered a long address at the Jacobin club on the crimes of the English people, which he had probably pronounced on the previous day at the section temple. On the 19th April the address was on the existence of a God and the immortality of the soul. On another occasion a printer named Massot inveighed against celibacy as originating in selfishness and ending in debauchery. He had to confess that he was himself unmarried, but he hinted that he had an attachment for a girl whose parents were opposed to the match. Agriculture and the dangers of ignorance furnished other texts. On the 7th August, the Décadi after Robespierre's fall, the perils of idolising public men in a republic were appropriately dwelt upon. The American ambassador Monroe and his wife were present. They had just arrived in Paris and were probably staying close by, at White's hotel. Various provincial municipalities and clubs subscribed for these lectures, evidently that they might be re-delivered, and when the printer, Massot, was arrested, the section pleaded for his speedy trial, so that the publication might not be interrupted. This probably conduced to his acquittal on the 14th April.

A sort of liturgy, entitled "Office des Décadis, ou discours,

hymnes, et prières en usage dans les Temples de la Raison," was published in the spring of 1794, and went through two editions. Joseph Chénier wrote one of the "hymns," but the chief contributors were Dusausoir and Delaurent. The former wrote several addresses, which were read in the church of St. Roch, re-named Temple of Roch, by boys eight or ten years of age. The addresses inculcated patriotism, morality, domestic virtues, and kindness to animals. There were prayers to the Supreme Being and invocations to Liberty, as also one to the Sans-culottides, the five days between Fructidor and Vendémiaire which supplemented the twelve months of thirty days, and bore the names of Virtue, Genius, Labour, Opinion, and Recompense. "Happy, O Sans-culottides," we read, "a thousand times happy, he who, imbued with the ideas which you evoke, can say to himself:—

J'honore les vertus, j'admire le Génie,
 Mon travail suffit pour ma vie ;
 Il suffit pour nourrir ma femme et mes enfants.
 Je soulage en secret la timide indigence ;
 Le bon sens sert de guide à mon opinion.
 Bien servir mon pays est mon ambition,
 Et quand je l'ai servi, voilà ma récompense."

This liturgy, though containing attacks on Catholicism, is exempt from parodies, whereas in Poitevin's *Catéchisme Républicain* the seven sacraments are travestied. Baptism is the regeneration of the French, commenced the 14th July 1789; penance is the wandering life of traitors to the country; the communion is the association offered to all rational peoples by the French republic, so as to form on the earth but one great family of brothers, no longer acknowledging or giving incense to idol or tyrant; confirmation is the election of the Convention; consecration to the priesthood is the abolition of clerical celibacy; marriage, universal peace and mutual help; extreme unction, the annihilation of all tyrants and conspirators. Pithoud, moreover, who styled himself the "first apostle of Reason," published what he termed four republican

sermons. These commenced with the formula, "In the name of the God of heaven and earth, in the name of Nature, Reason, and *Patrie* our mother. So be it"—"the substitute of regenerate Frenchmen for the formula of imposture." The "sermons" are denunciations of Catholicism or moral exhortations.

The reports of the "observers of public spirit" furnish us with some details of these services.

On the 10th Pluviôse (29th January 1794) Bacon writes :—

A citizen mounted the pulpit of truth at the *ci-devant* Bonnes Nouvelles church, and read a dialogue between a Frenchman and an inhabitant of Philadelphia, that is to say, an American. This citizen spoke so as to be understood by the masses, and produced a good effect. A good voice and action riveted the attention of the auditors. He was repeatedly applauded, especially at this phrase, "Friends, no peace with kings, eaters of human flesh; they must be all at our knees. We must begin with the savage islander Georges Dandin [George III.]. All tyrants must die, even should we be doomed to live on bread and roots. The bread will be for those at the frontiers, and the roots for those remaining at home." Another citizen then occupied the pulpit, and there were recitations before the people, who were in large numbers, of the Declaration of Rights, verses in honour of the martyrs of liberty, and republican catechisms by young children of both sexes whom he had trained during the decade. The mothers of these young republicans wept for joy, and the spectacle was very touching. Various patriotic songs were then sung, which stirred the soul and inflamed the heart for liberty and equality. Advice to the magistrates: Forbid having a collection for the poor during the sermon, for this makes you lose good passages of the discourse. Give orders that no dogs should enter the church, for they make much noise and distract attention.¹

¹ A pamphlet containing the regulations for these "services" shows that the proceedings commenced with the announcement of births, marriages, divorces, and deaths. Virtuous acts witnessed in the section were then related. Three "orators of morality," each to officiate one *Décadi*, were elected every month. One qualification required was "good morals," for "is a man likely to teach others what he does not himself practise?"

At the *ci-devant* St. Laurent church three citizens read the decrees of the Convention ; all three had poor voices, and read and pronounced badly. Many citizens *en vert*, I mean artisans, were at this temple of Reason. Several left, saying, "It is a pity there is so much noise, and the reading is so bad that one is forced to go away." Indeed, children three or four years old are allowed to enter, unaccompanied by their mothers, and they amuse themselves with the dogs. This disgusts citizens from coming to get instruction. Recommendation : The sections should be invited to issue regulations for keeping order on the days when the decrees of the Convention are read. This is all the more urgent as at St. Laurent I saw women in *sabots* constantly changing their seats in order to make a noise, so that nothing might be heard.

Charmont reports :—

The festival of Reason was celebrated yesterday in the *ci-devant* church of St. Étienne du Mont. There was an immense concourse of citizens of both sexes. A grand discourse was delivered on the successes of the troops of the republic over the despots.

On the 30th Pluviôse Le Breton reports :—

There has been a civic festival at the temple of Reason (the old Notre Dame church) in rejoicing for the decree of the Convention in favour of men of colour and for enfranchising negroes. A speech was delivered which appeared to make a great impression and was warmly applauded. I noticed, however, two canons of the old chapter who seemed to me anything but pleased at the use made of their church. This festival chiefly consisted of twelve members from each section.

Another observer says :—

A prodigious crowd filled the temple of Reason and listened in silence to the Declaration of Rights. A grand discourse was then delivered in honour of Nature and the deliverance of men so as to form but one family. Numerous plaudits terminated a glorious festival.

Chaumont reports :—

Every citizen who met another said, "Where art thou going?" "I am going to the temple of Reason to hear some fine patriotic discourse. Formerly I understood nothing of what was said, whereas now love of country leads me there, to learn my rights and

duties, and I always take care to read beforehand the *Bulletin de la Convention* and the *Observateur Sans-Culotte*, to be posted up in the news of the day."

Bacon reports :—

To-day at the *ci-devant* Bonnes Nouvelles church there were sentinels, and the dogs were driven out. The greatest quiet prevailed. Here is what passed. The church of which I speak was full of people, and there were many of the young of both sexes. A citizen made several of them (the oldest might be nine or ten) recite the Declaration of Rights and some chapters of the republican Constitution. The young people were repeatedly applauded, and on all sides there were cries of "*Vive la République, Vive la Convention, Vive la Montagne.*" Another citizen then occupied the pulpit of truth. He read a short address full of morality, patriotism, and philanthropy, but chiefly bearing on fanaticism, the crimes of kings, horror of federalism, and love of liberty. The discourse, read with grace—the orator had a sonorous voice and good action—produced, I venture to say, a great effect, and I noticed that it thrilled the audience. This passage was much applauded: "What gratitude is due to the sacred Mountain [the Jacobin deputies], to the National Convention, and to the Public Safety Committee for creating the insurrection of the 31st May [the arrest of the Girondin deputies], which saved the country and destroyed federalism. But for that sacred insurrection the brigands [Vendéans], with their crosses, chaplets, banners, and saints, would have arrived in Paris. Brave Parisians, where should we have been?" ("*Vive à jamais la Convention!*") This passage also was warmly applauded: "And you, honest English sans-culottes, we shall give you liberty, for you will soon have no lords or clergy, no king Georges Dandin or Pitt, the most contemptible of men. We shall extend our arms to you." (Everybody exclaimed: "That will soon happen.") Again, this phrase evoked general plaudits prolonged for some minutes: "No peace with kings. Their entire destruction is necessary. The peasant in his hut must receive the reward due to his virtue." ("*Bravo, vive, vive, et vive la République!*") Lefèvre, a singer at the Opera, gave patriotic songs and the "Marseillaise." . . . More than 400 copies of a speech on education by Jault,¹ a member

¹ Jault, who was guillotined with Robespierre, published several *Décadi* addresses. In one of them he commented on the waste of food entailed by keeping dogs, cats, birds, and monkeys. He had found in one house with six tenants 10 dogs, 4 cats, 12 canaries, and 2 parrots.

of the Paris Commune, were sold. There was quite a scramble for them. The tree of liberty, carried by several sections, next made the round of the section. . . .

At the *ci-devant* church of St. Laurent citizens read to the people decrees of the Convention and republican catechisms. Very revolutionary songs were sung.

There were many people at the temple of Philosophy, but at least three-fourths of the women were dressed in cloaks and round caps, I mean like country people. There were many of the young. A song on the abolition of religion was repeatedly and laughingly applauded by the young women. Here is the last stanza of a couplet which evoked much applause:—

De cette eucharistie tant vantée
Nous en avons fait du pain-à-cacheter.

I remarked that at the expression *pain-à-cacheter* the old women stamped. The men laughed and took snuff, so strong a pinch that the sneezing was like the discharge of a cannon. This other refrain was much applauded:—

La vraie religion
Est à aimer notre Constitution.

Other songs on the crimes of kings excited warm applause. A boy of ten then gave a song on the capture of Toulon, and a couplet of this extolled Robespierre. A member named Thibaut (for I inquired the name) of section [faubourg du] Nord asked to speak to the people, and said: "Citizens, I love and esteem Robespierre, but the living should never be flattered or have altars erected to them till after death. We have had five years' experience. For five years we have been kneading human dough. No praise therefore of living men, for liberty and equality will always be in danger." There was no applause, but people said in a low tone, "Thibaut is right." The couplet I speak of has been suppressed.

On the 10th Ventôse (28th February) Bacon writes:—

At the temple of Reason, Bonnes Nouvelles section, there were many people, especially women. Patriotic hymns were sung. Children of both sexes recited the republican commandments. But a youth, aged 13, named Chaper, spoke for full three-quarters of an hour on the blessings of a republican government. He drew tears from all who heard him, and on all sides there were cries of

"*Vive la république !*" . . . At the temple of Reason, Gravilliers section, four children, the eldest of whom seemed to be four years old, recited the Declaration of Rights. They were warmly applauded, and there was a scramble to kiss them. A citizen congratulated the mothers of these young republicans on their patriotism in thus betimes teaching their children the principles of republicanism.

On the 10th Germinal (30th March) Bacon again writes:—

At the temple of Reason, *ci-devant* Sorbonne church, section Chaliér, the Declaration of the Rights of Man was read, as also several decrees of the Convention. Patriotic hymns were sung, and a citizen read the speech of St. Just, member of the Public Safety Committee [accusing Danton]. It was repeatedly applauded, with cries of "*Vive la république !*" There were a considerable number of women. The decrees [against Danton] produced a great effect on all hearers, and inspired a profound hatred for all the conspirators. Near me men in jackets said: "One shudders to think of this conspiracy. *Mon Dieu, mon Dieu*, where should we be but for the Public Safety Committee?"

This new religion, ephemeral as it proved to be, produced quite a literature of its own. Not only hymns and catechisms, but tracts were numerous. One of the most curious of these publications is the *Vie et Mort républicaine du Petit Émilien*, by Fréville. It is the biography of the author's young son, and the *Moniteur* of the 28th October 1794 said of it:—

One cannot read without emotion this simple and artless history of a child whom a premature death has just snatched from his parents, inconsolable for his loss. Little Émilien, scarcely seven years of age, had already shown virtues which would honour men of ripe age. He seemed to breathe only for the republic. The love of country which governed all the actions of a too short life supported him in a long and painful agony.

Fréville, a schoolmaster who seems to have anticipated some of the ideas of Fröbel, tells us how Émilien, the "fruit of a sixteen months' pregnancy," began feeding

himself when four months old, how he took Chinese figures painted on a screen for living beings and offered one of them food, and how keenly he was disappointed when illness prevented him from accompanying his father to the festival of Reason. This was the date of the commencement of his malady. The poor boy had his blue coat and tiny sword placed on his bed; he sang, though in pain, the "Marseillaise"; and he asked a kind neighbour who visited him how the armies were going on, and whether Bailly, the ex-mayor of Paris, had been guillotined. "Yes, my child." "Oh, he well deserved it." Did we not here find a mere echo of the father's sentiments, we might exclaim, as did John Huss when he saw a peasant woman bring a faggot to his funeral pyre, "*O sancta simplicitas!*" One of Émilien's last utterances was, "What most grieves me, mamma, is to leave thee and to be unable to serve the republic."

A eulogium of him was published in the newspapers, and sent by the Arsenal section to the Education committee of the Convention. Three tracts or treatises held up this poor child to admiration. He was a boy saint of the new religion.

CHAPTER VI

LIFE IN PARIS

Ordinary Routine—Advertisements—Apathy or Terror—Nightmare—
Theatres—Festivals—Fine Arts—Academies—Dress—Pauperism—
Strikes—*Assignats*—Forced Gifts—Inventions—Auctions and
Speculation—Crime—Delation—Heroism.

VIVID as is the picture of Parisian life during the Terror furnished by these confidential reports, they require to be supplemented. They tell us abundantly what happened in the streets, the markets, the cafés, but they do not tell us enough of the ordinary life of individuals, of the weight of Jacobin coercion, of the difficulties of the currency, of the changes of property, or of acts of cowardice and heroism. They are silent on the condition of the stage and the fine arts, and on the progress of science and invention. Even on the dearth, the working of the *maximum*, the prevalence of poverty and crime, and the Jacobin festivals, they are not sufficiently ample. To complete the picture, therefore, of Parisian life it is necessary to consult other official manuscripts, together with newspapers and memoirs, for, though these are not always entitled to implicit credence, we may by comparing and weighing their testimony arrive approximately at the facts.

We are apt to think that the ordinary life of a community is in abeyance during great events, and that all eyes are fixed in enthusiasm or anguish on the historic scene passing before them. But just as the *Diary of Machyn*, a London mercer, published by the Camden Society in 1848, shows us that during changes of religion and an attempted change of dynasty London

tradesmen, though noting what took place and interested in it, attended quietly to their business, so, during the Terror, Parisians ate, drank, and slept, worked, went shopping, married, divorced, wrote letters, and even amused themselves. The truth is that history is in general the record of the deeds of a small minority. The great majority have a livelihood to earn, and can spare only a passing thought or glance for tragedies and crises.

What Prudhomme wrote of the day of the execution of Louis XVI. will apply to other sanguinary dates of the Revolution :—

The milkwomen came as usual with their cans and the market gardeners with their vegetables, going home with their wonted liveliness, singing couplets on a guillotined king. . . . The theatres were all open. . . . There was a ball in the evening at the extremity of the pont Louis XVI.

A large crowd, indeed, collected along the boulevards to see Louis on his way from the Temple to the scaffold, and a denser crowd filled the Place de la Concorde to witness his decapitation; but the women returned to their households and the men to their work after the unfortunate monarch had passed or had been beheaded. And a still larger number of people did not even go to see the last of him, but went on with their ordinary vocations. The unpublished records of the Prefecture of Police consist almost exclusively on this eventful day, as on uneventful ones, of the most commonplace incidents. It is true they show that Mauricot (or Moricaud), a grocer, a captain in the National Guard, was arrested for saying that if there were many men like himself they would prevent the execution,¹ that another man was apprehended for anti-civic talk, a third at the café Valois for "having the air of mocking the patriots," and a fourth, an artisan, for saying he would give his own head to save the King's. They also speak of the seizure of a sword-cane belonging to an

¹ He was guillotined with the Luxembourg batch on 9th July 1794.

Englishman, of several other persons being armed with sword-canes, and of a man tearing down the decrees of the Convention. But alongside these episodes we hear of a foundling being picked up in the streets and sent to an asylum, of a journeyman hairdresser being drunk and disorderly, and of two women being suffocated by charcoal fumes. And on other memorable days there is not even a trace of politics. Thus on the 14th July 1790, the "Feast of Pikes," as Carlyle styles it, the only police record is the arrest of an Englishman for pocket-picking, which seems already to have been an English speciality. Again on the 10th Thermidor, when Robespierre met his fate, we hear of a lost child in the Champs Élysées being discovered by a workman, of a purse being lost, of a scavenger being arrested as drunk and disorderly, and of the seizure of pork unfit for food. So also on the day of the Queen's execution, on that of the Girondins, of Princess Elisabeth, or of Fouquier-Tinville or Carrier, the police records speak merely of accidents or suicides. On the 18th Brumaire, when Bonaparte seized on the government, we are told only of two chimneys on fire.

The same impression is given us by the advertisements in the *Petites Affiches*. They show that the theatres were open as usual, that schools were carried on, and that lessons in drawing and painting were given, as also (but these were suspended at the height of the Terror) lessons in foreign languages. The farming-out of chairs in churches was let by auction as usual in July 1793. Numerous land companies held out temptations to emigration, notwithstanding the disastrous collapse of Joel Barlow's Scioto (Illinois) company. There is, however, another side to the picture in the sales of furniture or houses of the guillotined or *émigrés*, and in many sales of estates. There are also numerous advertisements of persons missing and of addresses wanted.

A sale of unredeemed pledges was going on in Paris on the 9th Thermidor, the furniture of Fontainebleau

palace was being sold in that town, and in the evening, while the Convention and the Commune were preparing for the conflict, theatre-goers were listening to *Romeo and Juliet*, *Paul and Virginia*, and *William Tell*. At the beginning of Thermidor, moreover, horses and carriages were announced for sale, though one would have supposed that carriage-people had all left Paris,¹ especially as nobles had been expressly forbidden to reside in it. Domestic servants, even valets, were advertised for or solicited situations. So also with housekeepers and governesses. Widows of mature age without incumbrance advertised for husbands, one requiring help to manage a small farm, another offering "to join in labours benefiting the republic or mankind, or in any other employment satisfying the reason and heart." About half-a-dozen men responded by advertisement to these overtures. In 1791 the *Courrier de l'Hymen*, appearing twice a week, contained advertisements after this fashion:—

A lady aged 28, English, a native of London, who has received all the education that can be imparted to a well-born *demoiselle*, and who, accustomed to good society, combines with it a knowledge of the French language, and as to fortune has now 900 francs a year, which is capable of increase to 2000 francs on the death of her parents, wishes to join her destiny with a man of thirty to thirty-eight, French, of mild and affable character, having property, but especially much feeling and sincerity.

A collection of republican songs, quack medicines, drapery goods, restaurant dinners at 4 francs, hair-dyes, a forte-piano (as the new instrument was then styled), were likewise offered. Loans were wanted for starting in business, and a young man coming up from the country required a clerkship. Wet-nurses proffered their services. Watches and other articles were lost or found. There

¹ Princess Lubomirska, however, unconscious of the guillotine which awaited her, went with her four-years-old daughter to Paris in October 1792, taking three servants with her, and for thirteen months mixed in what remained of fashionable society, visiting Madame Dubarry and patronising portrait painters.

were sales of houses and furniture, and also of books. Conveyances of property were going on. The confiscated papers of Dufourleur, a notary much employed by the duke of Orleans, and guillotined on the 21st May 1794, show that contracts and legal business of all kinds were not interrupted. So again with divorces, which, as in the case of Madame Condorcet's suit, were sometimes a concerted mode of saving property from confiscation.

We naturally ask whether the Terror nevertheless did not weigh like a nightmare on the Parisians. Upon this point the memoirs of contemporaries differ. Lavalette, afterwards famous for his escape from prison in 1816, an eyewitness of the massacres of September 1792, says :—

A thousand yards from the prisons people affected not to know that Frenchmen were being massacred by hundreds. Shops were open, amusements going on in all their liveliness ; all the frivolities, all the seductions, of luxury, sensuality, and debauch were placidly exercising their sway. Ignorance was affected of horrors which there was not courage to oppose.¹

Etienne Délécluze, in his *Vie de Louis David*, describes how in the daytime business went on and made people forget the Terror, but how at night, the streets being almost deserted, parents at the 9 o'clock supper hushed their children's merriment, listened anxiously to the heavy footfalls of the patrol, and were in anxious suspense when revolutionary committees were heard passing, engaged in domiciliary visits, and perhaps knocking at a neighbour's door. Nobody ventured to open the window to see what was happening, and great relief was felt when the commissaries went further on. Délécluze's mother, unable one day to avoid the guillotine carts, leaning on the parapet of the bridge, trembling and almost fainting, had to overcome her emotion on a friendly admonition from a bystander that

¹ Lavalette, *Mémoires*. While in prison under sentence of death in 1816 he had a dream, apparently lasting for hours but really only three minutes, of a procession of carts loaded with bleeding corpses, amid streets filled with agonised spectators. This dream was perhaps partly due to his recollections of the Terror.

displays of sensibility were dangerous. Joseph Droz, the future Academician, who was then nineteen years of age, says :—

I saw Paris in those days of crime and mourning. From the stupor of people's countenances you would have said it was a city desolated by a contagious disease. The vociferations or laughter of a few cannibals alone interrupted the deadly silence which surrounded you. Human dignity was no longer maintained except by the victims who, with serene front on the scaffold, departed without regret from a dishonoured earth. . . . Such was the prostration and stupor that if a condemned man had been told, "Thou shalt go to thy house and there wait till the cart passes to-morrow and mount into it," he would have done so.¹

The mother of General Cavaignac, then a girl of fourteen, says :—

Every morning at breakfast the newspaper brought the list of the condemned, and however enthusiastic you were for the Revolution it was impossible not to be terrified and grieved at the means which it had to employ.²

The future General Lejeune, returning to Paris, at the age of seventeen, in 1793, after a campaign under Dumas, says :—

Heads were carried on pikes through the streets. All honest minds were chilled with terror. Anybody decently dressed became a "suspect" for the mob, and was imprisoned.

He himself, invited out to lunch and being rather smartly dressed, was denounced by a "patriot" as a *musicadın*, was taken from lock-up to lock-up, and was confined with other delinquents in the crypt of St. Martin's church. Not till 10 at night were they brought before Hanriot and Santerre, and not till midnight were they set at liberty. Lejeune, hemmed in one day by the crowd, saw Marie Antoinette on her way to the guillotine, the cart going at a snail's pace to prolong her agony and satisfy the savage

¹ Droz, *Œuvres*, ii. 325.

² *Mémoires d'une Inconnue*, 1894.

curiosity of the mob. Some like himself commiserated, but not one dared to express that feeling.

Even arrest was sometimes a relief, as Pasquier, the future Chancellor, a prisoner with his wife at St. Lazare, tells us :—

Out of prison you could not venture to meet, speak, or scarcely look at each other, so afraid were you of compromising one another. The most intimate friends kept quite apart. If you heard a knock at the door you immediately fancied that revolutionary commissaries had come to carry you off. Behind the bars, on the contrary, you re-entered society, as it were. You were surrounded by your relatives and friends. You saw them without constraint. You conversed freely with them.

The abbé Morellet, the well-known Encyclopedist, resuming in 1796, after three years' suspension, his correspondence with Lord Shelburne, says :—

I have been a witness of these assassinations [mentioning several of his friends], being forced, either by tyrannical laws or the impossibility of living elsewhere in any security, to inhabit the city of blood, where this spectacle was daily repeated quite close to my dwelling, having no feeling but indignation and horror, ashamed of being a man and of belonging to a people not merely cowardly enough to tolerate so many atrocities, but savage or stupid enough to feast its eyes daily on them.¹

Even Morellet's sleep was disturbed by horrible nightmares. He fancied himself being arrested, or defending his liberty by stabbing his assailant. Having in this state more than once flung himself out of bed on the floor, at the risk of dashing his head against the marble top of his chest of drawers, he had to stretch a cord across the bed, so as to awake in the act of springing out.² So, too, the abbé Maury, though safe in exile, is said to have dreamed of

¹ *Lettres à Shelburne*, Paris, 1898.

² Wordsworth, in like manner, after passing through Paris on his way home, shortly after the massacres of September 1792, used to dream that he was pleading for his own life or the lives of others before the sham tribunal.

being arrested, imprisoned, tried, and taken to the scaffold. He mounted the steps, placed his neck on the block, and—was awakened by the top of his bedstead having fallen on his neck. This little accident had with incredible rapidity produced the dream before arousing him. The comte de Ségur, while a prisoner, heard the clock begin to strike midnight, fell asleep and dreamt of prolonged massacres, woke up with a start at some unusual noise, and heard the clock still striking.

Yet Mollien, afterwards Napoleon's minister, on visiting Paris in March 1793, was surprised to find the usual lounging crowd in the Place de la Révolution (Concorde); and Blanc, one of the "observers of public spirit," writing on the 20th May 1793, says of the rich and well-to-do :—

Leave them their former pleasures, do not deprive them of the amusement of travelling hither and thither within the bounds of the republic, do not force them to join the army, and even if they were subjected to heavier taxes they will not make the slightest movement. You will not even know that they exist, and the greatest question which they will discuss in days when they are argumentative will be this: "Is there as much amusement under the republican government as under the old system?"¹

Certain amusements, however, were considerably interfered with by the Terror, particularly the theatres. Actors, and occasionally spectators also, had their trials. There were no longer, as at the earlier stage of the Revolution, scuffles between royalists and republicans, for the former had disappeared or had been silenced, nor did the spectators any longer attempt to dictate what pieces should be

¹ This reminds us of what Addison wrote from Blois in 1699 to Joseph Waring: "Truly by what I have seen of 'em the French are the Happiest Nation in the world. It is not in the power of want or slavery to make them miserable. There is nothing to be met with but mirth and Poverty. Every one Laughs, sings, and Starves." Cowper, who had not seen France, says the same thing :—

The Frenchman, easy, debonnair and brisk,
Give him his lass, his fiddle, and his frisk,
Is always happy, reign whoever may,
And laughs the sense of misery away.

played ; but the Commune ruled the theatres with a rod of iron. On the 2nd September 1793 "Paméla," by François de Neufchateau, was played at the Comédie Française. It had been expurgated to suit the Public Safety Committee, but the lines—

Ah ! les persécuteurs sont les plus condamnables,
Et les plus tolérants sont les plus pardonnables,

excited the protest of a Jacobin. "No political toleration," he exclaimed, "it is a crime." The whole house rose and silenced him, but he went and complained to the Jacobin club, and next day all the actors were arrested. Most of them remained eleven months in prison, and they narrowly escaped being put on trial. François de Neufchateau himself, though a martyr to gout, was eighteen months in confinement, and the piece was not revived till August 1795. Never under the old monarchy had the censorship been so strict. In three months, twenty-three pieces out of 151 were rejected, and twenty-five others had to be altered. Nearly all Molière was tabooed. Even Voltaire's "Brutus" and "Mort de César" had to be "corrected," and his "Mahomet" was prohibited. The pieces which found favour were Jacobin tirades, and burlesques on religion and royalty.¹ Even the Opera gave revolutionary spectacles.

No wonder real dramatists were silent. In vain did the Public Safety Committee, on the 16th March 1793, invite poets, historians, and playwrights to celebrate the achievements of the Revolution. Ducis, wisely declining the charge of the Paris National Library, lived undisturbed at Marly or Versailles. Prior to the Revolution he had adapted "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "Lear," and "Macbeth," and he brought out "King John" in June 1791, but it ran only a few nights. In December 1792 he brought out "Othello," but though he had made Othello (acted by Talma) stab Desdemona instead of suffocating her, several women fainted, and there were such murmurs that he altered it and made it end happily. The piece, however, did not draw, and Ducis waited for better times. It is true that "All's Well that Ends

¹ Two made sport of George III.'s insanity.

Well" was acted in July 1792, and "Romeo and Juliet," "much simplified," in September 1793. Writing to Vallier, who had sought to rouse him from his lethargy, Ducis says :—

Why talk to me of writing tragedies? Tragedy is being played in the streets. If I stir out of my house I am ankle-deep in blood. It is useless for me on returning home to shake the dust from my shoes. I say to myself like Macbeth, "Blood will have blood." Farewell, therefore, to tragedy. I have seen too many Atreus's in *sabots* to venture producing any on the stage. It is a rude drama, that where the people play the tyrant. Friend, the drama can be ended only in hell. Believe me, Vallier, I would give half the life remaining to me to pass the other half in some corner of the world where liberty was not a sanguinary fury.¹

Yet the theatres, poor as were the pieces played, were so thronged, except indeed on the day of the King's execution, when they were nearly empty, that Blanc, the observer before mentioned, expressed vexation, as we have seen, at frivolous amusements going on when the country was in danger. Nor were other diversions lacking. Bull-fights had been laudably put down by mayor Bailly in August 1790 as brutalising, and an attempt to revive them at Belleville, just outside Paris, in the following May, was denounced and apparently frustrated. Not till 1797 were these barbarous spectacles again allowed. Republican had, however, superseded Catholic festivals, and Perrière, on hearing the "Marseillaise" sung by young women at a concert in the Tuileries gardens in June 1793, was reminded of the charming girls whom he had heard singing in dissenting chapels in England. "There was not one of those angels," he says, "whom I should not have desired to marry."² The republican festivals, the chief of them organised in Paris by the painter David, whose head was full of classical scenes, seem to us very factitious, and after a time they unquestionably fell flat; but while the novelty lasted, I cannot doubt that they enchanted the Parisians. Decorations of foliage, the altar of the country on the Champ de

¹ Campenon, *Mémoire de Ducis*.

² Schmidt, *Tableaux*, ii. 14.

Mars, symbolical figures, symphonies, processions, athletic sports, wreaths awarded as prizes by maidens or old men, invocations to Nature read off from manuscript, funeral pyres of aristocratic emblems, Robespierre setting fire at the festival of the Supreme Being to figures representing atheism, ambition, selfishness, and discord—all this, we may depend upon it, aroused a good deal of fervour,¹ and Bacon tells how, on the 30th December 1793, citizens from the Arsenal quarter, on returning from the Champ de Mars, found in the street tables laden with provisions of which their neighbours pressed them to partake.² The liberation of pigeons as a symbol of the enfranchisement of the people, or the flight of small balloons bearing republican placards, seems to have pleased the multitude. We shrug our shoulders at this aping of antiquity, but it was the fashion of the day, and the eloquence which now sounds hollow or turgid was then very effective. The “Marseillaise,” moreover, has remained the national song, though its author, arrested by the Public Safety Committee on the 6th January 1794, soon became disillusioned with the Revolution. The other songs of the period, it is true, have perished, and the Terror first imprisoned and then guillotined the two men who might have been its poets—André Chénier and Roucher; yet General d’Andigné, in his recently published memoirs, speaks of the enthusiasm produced by warlike songs as contrasted with the previous indifference for music.

The shows in the Champs Élysées, though so near the daily butcheries, remained open throughout the Terror, but in Punch and Judy guillotining was substituted for hanging. (Toy guillotines were also sold.) The season, too, was favourable for outdoor amusements. The winter of 1793 was mild. There were no severe frosts in January 1794; February was almost exempt from frost, and spring set in early. Danton was tried on the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th April, and we learn that his thundering voice could be heard on the quays from the open windows of the court.

¹ Drumont, *Fêtes Nationales*, 1879.

² F. 7, 3688.

The windows must have been open not merely because the court was crowded, but because the thermometer was high. The 2nd was cloudy, and the thermometer reached 59° Fahr. On the 3rd there was frequent thunder and lightning amid Danton's vociferations, and the thermometer mounted to 67°. On the 4th the morning and afternoon were cloudy, the thermometer did not rise above 54°, and hail and rain fell in the evening. On the 5th the sky cleared in the evening, just as Danton and his companions perished, the day's highest reading being 58°. If the elements thus seemed to sympathise with the tragedy then going on, they sympathised also with the festival of the Supreme Being, for on the 8th June, after a cloudy morning the sky cleared, though a north wind kept the temperature down to 62°.¹

The fine arts, like the drama, received the impress of the Revolution. At the Salon of 1791 David exhibited the Death of Socrates, the Oath of the Horatii, and Brutus, as also the drawing of the Tennis Court Oath. Lafayette, Robespierre, Baron Trenck, and other celebrities were painted by some of his fellow-artists. In 1793 David was not an exhibitor, but he was at work on the Death of Marat, and he had presented the Convention with the Death of Lepelletier. Ducreux sent portraits of Robespierre and Couthon, and other painters depicted revolutionary episodes. But these did not wholly supersede scenes of rural life, land- and sea-scapes, and various Biblical subjects such as the Holy Trinity, and Mary and Martha. Deseine, who was deaf and dumb, sculptured a bust of *citoyenne* Danton, "exhumed and moulded seven days after her death." Danton, as we know, on returning from a mission in Belgium and finding his wife dead, had insisted on obtaining a last look at her,² a proof of affection which did not, however, prevent his marrying again in four months. The Salon of 1793, instead of being confined to members of the Academy of Arts, was thrown open to all "patriotic

¹ *Abbréviateur Universel*, 1794.

² Guiffrey, *Catalogues des anciens Salons*.

artists," and at the instance of David the jury by whom the prizes were awarded included a shoemaker and a gardener. These men seem to have had the good sense to be silent, but Hassenfratz and other Jacobin jurors made a grotesque exhibition of ignorance and prejudice. 1794 did not happen to be a Salon year, or it might have witnessed the glorification of Robespierre and of the guillotine. In 1795 classical subjects predominated, but there were several prison scenes, such as a captive seeing his wife through the barred window, Roucher starting from St. Lazare for the Conciergerie (by Leroy, a fellow-prisoner), and the September massacres. There was also a plan of proposed monuments to the victims in Monceau cemetery and in the Champs Élysées.

No painter or sculptor perished by the guillotine. Fragonard, protected by David, was unmolested in his lodging at the Louvre. Not till after the fall of Robespierre, when David could no longer befriend him, did he retire to Grasse, in the then unfrequented Riviera, where he completed ten panel pictures which, originally ordered by Madame Dubarry, were purchased in 1898 by Mr. Pierrepont Morgan for £50,000. Gerard, another artist, was placed, through his master David, on the revolutionary jury. It is said he only acted twice. On the 4th February 1794 he wrote to Wolff, Fouquier-Tinville's registrar, to excuse a few days' absence on account of illness. Barère protected Houdon from the animosity of David by getting him to convert a statue of St. Scholastica into Philosophy meditating on the Revolution, or rather to change its title.

Even picture-dealers had to be careful not to exhibit anti-revolutionary works. It is but fair to say that the licentious were also forbidden. An engraving of Louis XVI. holding a review led on the 8th January 1794 to the arrest of a dealer, as being "calculated to corrupt the public mind."¹ One of the charges against Madame Dubarry was that she had collected reactionary

¹ A.D. ii.* 292.

caricatures. Under this censorship, engravings disappeared from the stalls on the quays, and even in 1797, as Meyer, a German tourist, was surprised to find, they had not reappeared.

Music, however, was certainly stimulated by the Revolution, and the output, in quantity if not in quality, was considerable. The "*Ça ira*," it is true, has been traced to a dance tune composed by Bécourt, a theatrical violinist, Marie Antoinette herself having danced to it in 1790; but M. Constant Pierre has collected no less than 125 revolutionary hymns, forty-nine of them still unpublished. Some of the authors, indeed, studiously suppressed their compositions when first the Empire and then the Monarchy had rendered them inopportune. While the Revolution lasted, however, according to M. Pierre, it gave rise not only to a multitude of airs and songs, but even to improvements and inventions in musical instruments, for brass bands became in much greater request and were better organised.

The annual exhibition of Sèvres porcelain was held at the Louvre as usual at Christmas 1792, while the King's trial was going on close by; but it seems to have been afterwards in abeyance. The annual distribution of University prizes also went on till 1793. On the 10th August of that year the ceremony was presided over by Dufourny, who spoke of this, the first anniversary of the fall of royalty, as then celebrated by all Frenchmen only, but as destined to be celebrated next year by the whole world. He extolled Boucher St. Sauveur, who headed a deputation from the Convention, for having, being childless, adopted an infant. There was no further prize distribution till 1800.

The Academies continued to exist till the 8th August 1793, when on the proposal of Bishop Grégoire they were abolished. The storm had been long threatening them. On the 25th August 1789 the French Academy had had the courage, or the rashness, to award the "virtue" prize to Marie Barbe Pécheux, maid-servant

of Réveillon, whose paper-hanging factory was sacked by the mob in the previous April. This brought on it virulent attacks, and in 1790 Mirabeau commissioned Chamfort, himself a member, to indite for him a speech advocating its abolition. Mirabeau died before he could deliver the speech, but Chamfort published it, yet the Academy in 1792 elected him president. Five of its members, however, had emigrated, four others either were, or were about to be, imprisoned, and it had avoided attracting notice. The Academy of Sciences, in March 1793, tried to propitiate the Convention by offering it for military ambulances, 30,000 francs, arrears of prizes not awarded or unclaimed. The Academicians had previously asked permission to expend the money in a telescope superior to Herschel's, but had received no answer, and they did not wish it to remain longer idle when there was such an opportunity of utilising it. In the following month the Academy issued the programme of its prize dissertations for 1795. In May, moreover, it was authorised to fill up vacancies, and its subsidy was restored, whereas the other Academies had been forbidden to elect new members and their subsidies had been stopped. This exceptional treatment was due to the Academy of Sciences having been directed to frame a new system of weights and measures. But in August 1793 it perished with its fellow Academies, and like them it contributed victims to the Revolution, for Lavoisier was guillotined, Vicq d'Azyr died from fear, and Condorcet poisoned himself. Chamfort also committed suicide to forestall the guillotine, which had struck down his colleague Bailly. In October 1795, under the title of National Institute, the Academies were revived.

Dress did not fall under Jacobin regulations, except that the wearing of tricolour cockades was obligatory even for women, for on the 21st September 1793, after a scuffle between a cockade and an anti-cockade party, the Convention had rendered the badge compulsory, on pain of seven days' imprisonment for the first offence

and indefinite incarceration for the second. The famous *bonnet rouge* was never enforced. London became, and for some years remained, the seat of fashion for female dress. Mademoiselle Bertin, the great Paris milliner, had migrated thither, having previously burnt her account against Marie Antoinette, telling the searchers that the Queen owed her nothing. As for men, there were schemes, indeed, of republican costume. The Popular and Republican Society of Arts, headed by a fanatic named Bienaimé, which actually petitioned the Convention for the burning of the pictures of *émigré* painters at the Louvre, invited designs for a national costume whereby men would be healthier and more agile, while women would give birth to healthier infants. French citizens would thus also be distinguished from the inhabitants of nations still enslaved, and revolutionary heroes would be represented by the brush and the chisel in all the beauty and grace of nature. The Convention, too, on the 14th May 1794, invited David to adapt dress to republican manners. He accordingly ten days later submitted designs, which were ordered to be engraved and coloured. Twenty thousand copies of the civil and 60,000 of the legislative, judicial, and military designs were to be circulated. The civil costume consisted of tunic, trousers, laced boots, hat with feather, belt, and a mantle thrown over the shoulders. Twelve hundred francs (in *assignats*) was allowed to a tailor for making a specimen suit. Some of David's pupils paraded in this costume, but their example was not imitated, and the Thermidor reaction deprived the scheme of any chance of success.

"*Quand le bâtiment va, tout va*" is nowadays a Paris maxim, and if it held good of the time of the Terror we should conclude that business was flourishing, for in February 1794 more than 150 houses were being erected.¹ But this would be a great mistake. Wealthy foreigners no longer visited Paris. For twenty years, with the exception

¹ M. 665.

of the short peace of Amiens, English "milords" were unknown, and London newspapers complacently commented on the money which thus remained at home. Opulent natives, moreover, had either emigrated or had been imprisoned. This exodus of the rich, coupled with increased taxation and the higher price of provisions, was complained of in four petitions to the King—signed by some hundreds of artisans, and discovered in the famous iron cupboard at the Tuileries—as causing want of employment and rendering the Revolution a disappointment.

An affecting proof of this lack of employment is furnished by the application of a coach-painter in May 1792 for the restitution of an infant taken by him to the foundling hospital in 1790. Business reviving, he was anxious to reclaim the child, and it was suggested, let us hope with effect, that he should be exempted from the regulation of payment of arrears of maintenance.¹

Strikes were the natural result of such troubled times. As early as the 18th August 1789 journeymen tailors met on the grass-plot in front of the Louvre to demand 40 sous a day wages, and the prohibition of the making of new clothes by second-hand shops. On the same day journeymen hairdressers assembled in the Champs Élysées to insist on the abolition of register offices, which levied a tax on them as entrance fee. On the 29th August, 3000 male servants out of place collected to demand the expulsion of Savoyards as foreign competitors. In the following month journeymen shoemakers resolved on higher wages. Druggists' assistants contemplated a similar movement, but their meeting was prohibited.

In November 1791 there was a strike at the national printing office, on account of the dismissal of eight compositors who had excited agitation against some previous dismissals. The ringleaders blew out all the candles—gas was yet unknown—and threatened vengeance against any who held aloof from the strike. A scuffle ensued, and the ringleaders were prosecuted.² In September

¹ Tuetey, *Assistance Publique*, t. 3.

² C. 177.

1793, another strike being threatened, the Convention decreed that compositors, wherever employed, might be requisitioned, that is to say, drafted into the national printing office.

In 1791 Paris contained 118,000 paupers, or above one-sixth of the population, and the strain of poverty was heightened by the fluctuation in the value of *assignats*. When first issued this paper money fell at once to 95 per cent., and as the issue increased the depreciation increased also, though the Jacobins blindly attributed this, not to the natural force of things, but to speculators and conspirators. In July 1791 the *assignat* of 100 francs had fallen to 85, in March 1792 to 53, and in July 1793 to 33. In the autumn of 1793 it was worth only 29. The earlier *assignats*, bearing the King's effigy, were, however, less at a discount, because these alone, in the event of a counter-revolution, would, it was supposed, be recognised. In January 1795 the Convention, on account of this depreciation, raised the stipends of its members from 18 francs a day to 36 francs. In June 1795 the 100 francs *assignat* was at 4, in August at 3, in November at $1\frac{1}{2}$. In May 1796 it was worth only one-sixth of a franc. We may imagine how prices of commodities fluctuated, a pound of bread varying in 1796 from 40 to 150 francs, how these fluctuations impeded business, and how debtors took advantage of the depreciated currency till the resumption of specie payments in 1798, when the *assignats* were redeemed at 1 per cent., and when all private debts were reduced to the value in coin at the time of their being contracted. The *Moniteur*, in 1796, had to ask subscribers who had paid 1800 francs in *assignats* for three months, to pay an extra 12 francs in coin to make up 20 francs, inasmuch as the 1800 were worth only 8 francs. This would almost make us credit stories of beggars disdaining to pick up bundles of *assignats* dropped in the streets. The Opéra Comique had eleven times to alter its prices to suit these fluctuations. Dutard, the observer already mentioned, on asking a grocer on the 26th May 1793 what the

market-women thought of affairs, received this answer: "These women are nearly all aristocrats (reactionaries); the *ancien régime*, the new one, or any other is immaterial to them; they no longer sell anything, and they would rally round the first man who promised them plenty of food." The grocer himself was about to give up selling brandy, for the demand had so fallen off that in six months the price had dropped from 3 francs to 1 franc 80 cents. Yet General d'Andigné, in 1795, found the depreciation in currency beneficial to the masses. He could dine for 50 centimes in specie, and clothing was also cheap.

Patriotic gifts, more or less compulsory, and forced loans, must also have occasioned considerable annoyance or embarrassment. In October 1789 a "patriotic tax" was imposed. Persons were required to give, in three yearly instalments, one fourth of a year's income. Madame Helvétius accordingly subscribed 4500 francs. In September 1793 a forced loan was imposed of 10 per cent. on incomes of 1000 francs, gradually rising to 50 per cent. on 9000 francs, above which sum everything had to be surrendered, subject to 1000 francs or 1500 francs being left for the husband's support and 1000 francs for his wife and for each child. The declarations of income which had thus to be sent in seem to have been closely scrutinised, corrections or additional details being sometimes required. The Princess of Monaco on the 18th December 1793 reported an income of 12,000 since her divorce in the previous June, and she had voluntarily (that is, in the hope of remaining unmolested) lent the Republic 10,000 francs. This, as we have seen, did not save her from the guillotine. Madame Sémonville, wife of the ex-ambassador at Constantinople, while a prisoner at the Luxembourg, made a return showing a deficit of 15,000 francs, but "to give a fresh proof of civism and attachment to the Republic," she undertook if liberated to give within three months 1000 francs, albeit her husband was in an Austrian dungeon and her affairs were all in confusion. Nor was simulated sympathy with the Revolution

confined to gifts of money. Madame du Roure had in 1791 to consult the abbé Edgeworth, Louis XVI.'s destined confessor, as to whether she could conscientiously assist in planting trees of liberty. He appeased her scruples.¹ Madame Condorcet, threatened with arrest by the revolutionary committee of Auteuil, just outside Paris, had not only to be very polite to them but to take their portraits.² Sham fishwives, moreover, forced people in the streets to buy bouquets and cry "*Vive la nation*," or even invaded houses for this purpose, insulting those who resisted this blackmail. These impostors had to be threatened by the municipality in August 1792 with six months' imprisonment as rogues and vagabonds.

Searches for arms, flour, or specie were the order of the day. They were not always fruitless. On the 3rd January 1794 the Grenelle section discovered 37,628 francs in gold, concealed by one Barbier. But a man who, in conformity to law, had reported the possession of 30,000 francs in specie had been murdered for the sake of plunder. It was thus equally dangerous to conceal and to avow.³ Cellars were also searched for saltpetre, a plea which sometimes screened sinister intentions. But this was not so bad as the proposal of Collot d'Herbois on the 17th and 18th September 1793, happily not adopted, that barrels of gunpowder should be placed in the cellars of "suspects," so as to blow them up at the first alarm. When Madame Linguet was arrested, on the 21st March 1794, her houses in Paris and St. Cloud contained 1500 bushels of potatoes, partly spoiled, a stock which rendered her guilty of hoarding.⁴ Her husband, though imprisoned in the Bastille by the old monarchy, had been guillotined as an anti-revolutionist, partly on account of a paradoxical pamphlet against bread, to which he attributed all sorts of

¹ Fillon, *Autographes*. All this reminds us of Nero's victims, bequeathing him part of their property, so as to save the rest for their families from confiscation, and of those families being forced to simulate cheerfulness lest they should incur the same fate.

² Guillois, *Madame de Condorcet*.

³ *Moniteur*, xix. 129.

⁴ AD. ii.* 292.

evils. Gardens, too, were dug up in search of concealed plate.¹

The post-office naturally did not enjoy inviolability. The National Archives still contain intercepted letters. Several are addressed by a Maria Sarah Moore, a prisoner in Paris, to a Mrs. Evans at Versailles, and there is mention in them of a common friend in England, Mrs. Thackeray. Now the famous novelist's grandmother had a sister married to a Peter Moore, M.P., a "nabob" who became his guardian and is the supposed original of his Colonel Newcome. Mrs. Evans may have been the wife or mother of John Evans, another nabob, chaplain and merchant at Madras, ultimately bishop of Bangor and archbishop of Armagh. On the 30th March 1793 General de Custine applied to the General Security Committee for the restitution of thirty-two letters addressed to Boyd and Ker, English bankers in Paris. That body ordered the seizure of all letters addressed to or by Madame de Genlis, then a refugee in Switzerland. It also required the post-office to give up to it registered (that is, money) letters whose intended recipients had been guillotined.²

Spite of all these discomforts and dangers, science and invention were not wholly dormant. The metric and decimal systems are inseparably associated with the Revolution. As early as the 8th May 1790 the National Assembly resolved on the unification of weights and measures, the co-operation of England being invited. When Lavoisier was arrested, the commission on that subject petitioned the Public Safety Committee for his release, that he might continue his labours on it. The refusal of this request was probably the origin of the legend of his asking, when condemned, for a respite to complete experiments, and of his being told that the Republic had no need of *savants*. Failing release, Lavoisier was taken from prison under escort to his house, to select the papers required, and then went back to captivity.³ Astronomer Cassini's papers were in like manner consulted by the commission, he being

¹ AD. ii.* 288-97.

² Ibid. 292.

³ Ibid. 290.

taken from prison for that purpose. On the 29th January 1792 Orelly, an ex-Benedictine, submitted a plan of a "compressed air" (apparently steam) flour-mill, which would supersede wind and water mills. This was referred to the Arts committee, but nothing more is heard of it. Again, on the 2nd December 1792, a M. Rollin proposed duodecimal numeration as preferable to the decimal system, inasmuch as it was divisible by 2, 3, 4, and 6, instead of only by 2 and 5. This idea has since occurred to many,¹ but our ten fingers seem to have irrevocably committed us to the decimal notation. A universal language was sure to be also suggested, but it was not till November 1795, sixteen months after the Terror, that ex-major Maimieux published a system which he styled "pasigraphy," whereby any writing was to be intelligible in French, English, German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian. Twelve characters and twelve rules were to enable men of these six nations to correspond. It was not apparently an anticipation of volapuk, but rather resembled Chinese. He delivered lectures on this system. Destutt de Tracy and Abel Rémusat, at the Academy of Moral Sciences, pronounced it unworkable, but Maimieux held classes, and one of his pupils, after eight hours' instruction, showed his proficiency at the Lycée des Arts, which awarded Maimieux a medal. After 1804, when he was still teaching it, we hear no more of pasigraphy, but its author lived till 1820. He had a rival in Delormel, who on the 16th November 1794 also presented the Convention with a scheme for a universal language. This was certainly an anticipation of volapuk, and was referred to the Education committee, which, however, never reported on it.² The alphabet consisted of ten vowels and twenty consonants, and two or three thousand words were to suffice for all requirements. It was not to supersede existing languages, but to be a medium of intercourse between men of all nations. There

¹ Sir Isaac Pitman experimented with it in his *Phonetic Journal*, devising two new figures for the purpose.

² *Moniteur*, xxii. 514.

was also an attempt to harmonise French spelling with pronunciation. A fountain pen, too, was invented by Coulon, a stenographer, in October 1790. He claimed that it could be used for several hours without being replenished with ink, and that unlike quills it required no mending. He recommended it to reporters and travellers, several deputies had adopted it, and it could be carried in the pocket in an ivory or mahogany case.¹

On the 22nd March 1792, Chappe, an engineer and nephew of an eminent astronomer, having perhaps picked up the idea from Amontons (who died 1705), submitted to the Convention his system of semaphore signals, the result of several years' labours, by which it might send a message to the frontier and receive an answer at the same sitting. The Education committee, to which this invention also was referred, reported successful experiments on the 26th July, and the Convention appointed Chappe "ingénieur-télégraphe." On the 29th August 1794 the recapture of Condé, which took place at 6 A.M., was thus announced to the Convention the same day.² But the system was more speedily adopted in England than in France, where Bréguet and Bétancour devised what was considered a simpler and cheaper plan. It was not till 1798 that Chappe was instructed to construct a telegraph between Paris and Strasbourg, so as to convey messages in thirty-six minutes, and the system does not seem to have been thoroughly carried out till 1806, a year after his death. Messages were then recorded on forms headed "Télégraphie : ligne de — ; dépêche télégraphique de —" At the top was a figure of Mercury flying, and at the foot an arm of the sea with a signal station on each side.³ The illness of Fox was thus announced from Boulogne in that year. William Playfair claimed to have introduced the system into England, having heard it described by a French *émigré* at Frankfort in 1793; but Richard Lovell Edgeworth had some years previously, without knowledge of Chappe, devised a similar method. Seguin invented an expeditious system of tanning,

¹ *Moniteur*, vi. 140, 532.

² *Ibid.* xxi. 632.

³ *AF.* iv. 1673.

supplied the army with saddles, and unlike most inventors acquired a fortune, which he lived to enjoy till 1835, when he died, a septuagenarian. Bazin, a Paris tradesman, announced in December 1792 a process of weaving stockings without joinings, though a rival disputed both its originality and its utility.¹ Barneville, in May 1794, submitted a spinning-machine adapted to the production of muslin equal to Indian fabrics, and on the 27th November following 200,000 francs was advanced to him for starting a factory.² A new mode of fixing artificial teeth was advertised in February 1793, albeit people's heads rather than their teeth needed stability. The arts of war were naturally not neglected, and an ex-artillery captain, Forestier de Véreux, of Gray, conceived a scheme for doubling the range of cannon.³ A balloon was employed for reconnoitring by the French at the battle of Fleurus in 1794.

Some of these alleged inventions were doubtless failures, and others raised disputes of priority,⁴ yet they show all the same that mechanical contrivances were not in abeyance during the Terror, though its literary output fell to a very low ebb. But some inventors found the Revolution very detrimental. Nicholas Le Blanc in 1790 entered into a partnership with the duke of Orleans, to whom he had been doctor, for the fabrication at St. Denis of artificial soda. On Orleans's death the factory was seized, and though Le Blanc presented his secret to the nation on condition of remuneration he could obtain no payment from the Convention, Directory, or Empire, till at last in despair he shot himself. France now saves a milliard a year by his process.

For speculators who had confidence in the return of settled government the Terror offered a grand opportunity. Between October 1790 and April 1791 there were in Paris 334 sales of ecclesiastical property, mostly dwelling-houses and shops, but several churches and monasteries, that of

¹ *Moniteur*, vii. 195, 454.

² *Ibid.* xxii. 615.

³ *Ibid.* xiii. 584.

⁴ An alleged discoverer of a preventive of mildew in corn was told in the summer of 1794 that he had been forestalled.

the Jacobins among them, were included. The municipality had paid the State a lump sum for these properties, and re-sold them thus by degrees. A taper burning about a quarter of an hour was lit when the biddings began ; if the bids went on, a second taper was lighted. If the taper was extinguished without a further bid the lot was knocked down. When a taper was flickering there would be a scramble, several persons bidding simultaneously, so that it was difficult to determine priority. There was an interval between the extinction of one taper and the lighting of another, during which bids were accepted. This custom is not altogether obsolete.

Roger, a future Academician, revisiting Paris after the Terror, speaks of the frantic speculation on the steps of the Palais Royal, not only in stocks, but in estates which the speculators had never seen, yet which sometimes in a single day changed hands fifteen or twenty times. Persons having no money bid for an estate in order to re-sell it, perhaps piecemeal. Sometimes, to "knock out" serious bidders, they made extravagant bids, and when the lot was assigned to them were not able to pay. Such men, however, were often employed as intermediaries, it being cheaper to buy through them than in competition with them. In July 1791 the National Assembly issued instructions to the departmental authorities to refuse the bids of non-residents unless they paid an instalment on the spot, as also those of drunkards and of persons who made a bid exceeding one-twentieth of the previous one, for there had been instances of a jump of 100,000 or 200,000 francs.¹ If in the country there was a dispute between two bidders, the one intending to subdivide the estate was to have the preference. Some of the confiscated mansions of Paris fell into plebeian hands at low prices. Thus the hôtel de Salm became the property of a hairdresser named Beauregard, who in 1798 let it or part of it to the revived Jacobin club, which had been expelled from the Manège on account of a riot and had obtained a temporary shelter in the rue du Bac.

¹ *Journal des Ventes de Biens Nationaux.*

Beauregard, after some narrow escapes from justice, was sentenced in December 1798 to four years' imprisonment for selling to the State coal which did not belong to him. The conversion of mansions still existing into factories or flats dates from this period.

Some of the purchasers of confiscated property had misgivings as to the security of their tenure, or qualms of conscience respecting the former owners. Such feelings were dispelled as regards ecclesiastical property by the Concordat, which recognised the validity of the new titles,¹ just as the Papacy, in similar circumstances, recognised in Mary's reign the confiscations of Henry VIII.; but uneasiness respecting secular property was not entirely dispelled, and impaired the market value till a milliard compensation was voted after the Restoration to the despoiled families. General Beurnonville, indeed, who had received the hôtel de Sabran, between the Élysée and the British embassy, in payment of a debt of 83,000 francs—it was, or had been, worth 350,000 francs—gave the marquise de Boufflers 40,000 francs as conscience money. It was very meagre compensation, but she had no legal claim. The marquis de Miramon was also offered partial compensation, but by haggling he lost his chance, for this gave the new owner's fears of dispossession time to subside. Yet the confiscation of aristocratic, monastic, and corporate property, by the creation of a mass of owners, large and small, free from all feudal burdens, ultimately strengthened the notion of private property. Land in the vicinity of Paris or large towns was largely bought, indeed, by tradesmen, who hired labourers or let it to farmers; but rural estates were mostly purchased by peasants, who combined to buy them in a lump and then to divide them.²

Many pictures, sculptures, and rare books went to England, Germany, and Switzerland. An influx of Jew brokers made a harvest by these sales, especially as

¹ Some of the purchasers at nominal prices of confiscated religious or secular property were nevertheless ill at ease, and in 1803, by advice of their priests, made donations to hospitals by way of restitution.

² Sagnac, *Législation Civile de la Rév. Franç.*

auctioneers were sometimes in collusion with them, so that the volumes of a valuable work or even a telescope and its lens were lotted separately. In 1792 the Flemish and German pictures of the duke of Orleans were purchased for 350,000 francs by T. M. Slade, a connoisseur, not without some opposition from creditors nor without protests from artists and connoisseurs. Slade re-sold them in London, when Lord Kinnaird gave 2000 guineas for Rubens's "Judgment of Paris," now in the National Gallery. Laborde-Méréville, who had re-purchased from a Brussels banker the duke's French and Italian collections, eventually being himself ruined, carried them also to London, where Lords Bridgewater, Carlisle, and Gower gave £41,000 for them, keeping some and re-selling the rest in 1798-99.¹ James Payne, too, the London bookseller, in 1793 purchased the valuable library of Chancellor Lamoignon, and he continued to enrich the Spencer and other libraries with Parisian spoils. The Convention too late, in March 1794, prohibited the exportation of rare books and manuscripts.

Cellars of costly wine, the confiscated property of *émigrés*, or of persons guillotined, were sold for a mere song, not however till the commissaries who inventoried them had assuaged their thirst. Cobblers, as Mercier tells us, quaffed Maraschino, while its former owners, in the depths of Germany, thought themselves fortunate if with wry faces they could get sour beer. "It is the right of the victors to clink their glasses to the victory." The mob, moreover, had caroused on the capture of the Tuileries, broken bottles for a fortnight covering the adjoining gardens. About thirty men were arrested for stealing wine, clothes, or ornaments from the Tuileries.

Fortunes were acquired not only by speculations in house property—two young men, Pyot and Conceil, in eighteen months made purchases to the amount of 17,200 francs—but by army contracts. Several fraudulent contractors were guillotined, but more doubtless enjoyed impunity. Shoes were sometimes made of wood or cardboard instead

¹ Buchanan, "Memoirs of Painting."

of leather. A specimen was shown to the Convention on the 27th September 1793 by young men ready to join the army if they were but properly equipped.

Criminals could not be expected to miss the opportunity offered by the disorganisation of all authority. In October 1789 the Hôtel de Ville was broken into, and what money it contained abstracted. In November 1789 St. Étienne du Mont was robbed of its sacramental plate, and the municipality, to show its horror of the sacrilege, attended an expiation service. In the following year 438 persons were lodged in the Châtelet for crimes and 52 for frauds; in 1791 the numbers were 1192 and 6.¹ On the 16th September 1792 there was the famous robbery of the Crown jewels at the Garde-Meuble (now the Ministry of Marine). Most of the plunder was recovered through a prisoner reporting a conversation which he had overheard between the delinquents, while they were in custody for another offence. The Pitt or Regent diamond was not, however, recovered till the 9th December 1793. The passing of forged *assignats* was a frequent offence, and in 1791 these were actually fabricated by prisoners at the Châtelet. We may easily imagine that illiterate people unaccustomed to paper money were an easy prey. Robberies in the streets, from shop-stalls, and in houses also occurred, though we have no statistics to show whether these were more numerous than before the Revolution. An inmate of the Deaf and Dumb asylum had something stolen from him, and he surprised the court by his clear written account of the transaction, the thief being arrested. Another inmate was unfortunately addicted to systematic pilfering from his comrades, selling their clothes and other belongings. He was prosecuted, as also the receivers, but the latter were dismissed. The abbé Sicard, head of the asylum, pleaded for the boy, who, though fifteen years of age, was held irresponsible, but was sent to prison for a year. In December 1792 two men who stole a purse at a meeting of the Mauconseil section were sentenced to four

¹ *Gazette des Nouveaux Tribunaux.*

years' imprisonment, and one of them to exposure in the pillory.

A new form of swindling arose out of the popular belief that victims or *émigrés* had concealed their treasures. We should not, however, have expected a prison to be the scene of such operations, yet in the winter of 1792 a dozen criminals of Bicêtre made in three months 10,000 francs by sending out circulars. They professed to be old servants of Bertier and Foulon, massacred in 1789, or confidants of the butchered princesse de Lamballe, and they offered for a consideration to discover the victims' hidden treasures. The bait took, and the fraud had to be stopped by restrictions on prison correspondence.¹ At the same period there were complaints of numerous trunks, containing from 15,000 to 60,000 francs, being abstracted from the back of carriages and coaches, especially after dark.

"Even in the most frightful times," says Droz, an eye-witness of the Terror, "I saw only a small number of malicious men, but I saw multitudes of cowards. Few commit crimes, but many allow them to be committed." "Revolutions," he adds, "are an inevitable school of selfishness." Let us rather say that they bring out all the latent good and evil in human nature. Delation was erected into a virtue. In 1789, indeed, the Investigation committee of the municipality complained of reluctance to denounce anti-revolutionary plots. Such reluctance, they said, was natural under the old *régime*, when it would have led to injustice, but was improper now that a fair trial would result. The infamous Laflotte, an aristocrat and ex-ambassador, could have indulged in no such sophistry when in 1794 his denunciation of the pretended plot among his fellow-prisoners at the Luxembourg led to 150 executions. An inmate of St. Lazare denounced a fellow-captive's plan of escape. Servants were invited or even required to inform against their masters. Reine Millot, kitchenmaid at Versailles, was one of the witnesses against

¹ Tuetey, *Assistance Publique*, t. 3.

her royal mistress. She actually related that the Queen intended (at the beginning of the Revolution) to shoot the duke of Orleans, that the King consequently had her searched, and that, two pistols being found on her, he confined her to her own rooms for a fortnight. Three maidservants at the Tuileries in June 1791, named Rochereuil (mother and daughter) and Padelin, claimed to have facilitated the recapture of the royal family at Varennes, and having consequently been dismissed from their posts, they in December 1792 applied to the Convention for compensation. In June 1794 the servants of d'Argenson and Victor de Broglie were interrogated by order of the General Security Committee on the whereabouts of their masters. Broglie was ultimately guillotined; d'Argenson married his widow. Anti-revolutionary talk was reported by workmen employed in painting a house, or by seamstresses or charwomen who denounced their employers. Roland's launderer, as we have seen,¹ was questioned as to his place of concealment, but pleaded ignorance. A citizen went to the Panthéon section and suggested that Roland's servants should be questioned on his table talk, and that *citoyenne* Mignot, his daughter's governess, "an excellent patriot," should be asked, "mildly and with appeal to her civism," what she knew of the horrible Girondin plot. She was also to be asked whether Brissot did not one day announce the raising of the siege of Lille, at which all Roland's guests were dismayed; and whether Roland did not say that if Brittany were ceded to England, and Artois and Lorraine to the German emperor, all would go well and the sans-culottes would be silenced. The nursemaid, suggested the citizen, might also be asked whether Roland was not to be king, and whether she did not regard mademoiselle Eudore as the daughter of the future king. The result was that Marie Madeleine Mignot, aged 55, was the first witness at Madame Roland's trial, but she was apparently a reluctant witness, and did not say quite as much as had been anticipated. She

¹ See p. 178.

remembered that Brissot announced the raising of the siege of Lille, whereupon Madame Roland said, "We have heard the good news." Roland and his wife showed little confidence in her political opinions (good reason why), and spoke before her with the greatest discretion, using expressions which she did not comprehend. One day Roland said to her, "Suppose we are all three guillotined." She replied that, having an easy conscience, she had no fear of this. Roland persisting, she rejoined that anyhow she hoped it would be for the welfare of France. "I told you so," thereupon remarked Madame Roland to her husband. "I should not have believed it possible," was his response.¹

Madame Dubarry's negro page, Zamor, whom she had loaded with kindness, helped to bring her to the scaffold. He was himself subsequently arrested at Sèvres as her accomplice, and though released died in merited indigence and obscurity in 1820. The house of d'Andigné, ex-bishop of Chalon, was pillaged during his imprisonment by a nineteen years' trusted manservant, who calculated on his aged master's death or execution, and who ended by being a police spy. Andigné lived till 1806 to be over ninety.

While Suard refused to shelter Condorcet, because he had been a rival suitor for Madame Suard's hand, and while David, the artist, basely declined to intercede for the life of Madame Chalgrin, Carle Vernet's sister, for whose hand he had been an unsuccessful suitor, there were not wanting persons who, like Condorcet's hostess, risked their own lives by concealing proscripts. Curiously enough what is now the lycée Condorcet was the refuge of the comte de Pontécoulant, whom Charlotte Corday chose for her counsel, but, as he was then shifting his quarters from night to night for fear of arrest, Fouquier's letter informing him of her choice did not reach him. She thought he had shirked the task, and her very last act was the writing of a reproachful letter to him. She had to ask the executioner to wait while she finished the letter, on receiving which a

¹ W. 294.

few days later he explained in the newspapers what had occurred. A Madame Lejay, widow of a bookseller, sheltered Pontécoulant, though a stranger to her, in the ex-Capucin monastery in the rue Caumartin. The chapel had been turned into a printing office, where deputies and members of the Jacobin club printed their orations. A manservant was the only person who shared the secret, but at night, when the compositors had left, Pontécoulant had the run of the premises and could promenade for his health. His retreat was only separated by a partition from the overseer's office, where deputies came to read their proofs, and one day he overheard a warm discussion between Robespierre, Desmoulins, and Barère. Desmoulins remonstrated against the continued proscriptions. Robespierre angrily justified them, denounced those Girondins who had evaded arrest, and mentioned Pontécoulant as probably among his friends in Calvados, where he ought to be searched for, and if not discovered his father ought to be arrested as a hostage. He also remarked that he had frequently met Dumont on the premises, and asked whether Madame Lejay could be trusted. Barère suggested that Dumont was in love with her, but Robespierre thought him too serious for this, and said he should be watched. The conversation ended by Robespierre taking up his proof and asking advice on particular phrases.¹ Now Dumont had found this refuge for Pontécoulant, whom he had himself previously sheltered, and he used to go at nights to see him. This conversation induced Pontécoulant to quit such dangerous premises, and Madame Lejay arranged for him to leave in artisan dress with the faithful manservant. The latter took him to the section, introduced him as a compositor wanting to go into the country for his health, and thus got a passport viséd, so that Pontécoulant escaped to Switzerland. He eventually returned and married his benefactress, who, it is said, had been the mistress of Mirabeau.

¹ Pontécoulant, *Souvenirs*.

Duquesnoy, another Girondin deputy, probably owed his life to the gendarme who, escorting him in custody from Nancy to Paris, burnt the papers which he had been commissioned to deliver along with his prisoner, and conducted the latter to La Force, then the prison for thieves and vagabonds. "The game preserved there," said the gendarme, "is not now hunted down."

The concierge of the Hôtel des Fermes not only saved Mollien, the future minister, from being sent off to the Conciergerie with the revenue farmers,¹ but showed him a door in a dark passage by which, if again threatened with removal, he could escape. He also refused to give up to the usher of the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the plea of a discrepancy in the spelling of the name, a man inscribed on the fatal list.

Nor let us forget the several hundred men and women who, on the royal family being brought back from Varennes, publicly offered themselves as hostages, in order that the King and Queen might cease to be treated as captives. True, the offer was not accepted; it was none the less generous.

The records of the Revolutionary Tribunal show numerous acts of heroism. There is Duchastel, the deputy who, ill, went in his nightcap to the Convention to vote against the execution of Louis XVI., and who, questioned on this at his trial, intrepidly replied, "Not having to blush for any of my acts, I declare that it was I who thus voted." There is Augran d'Alleray, councillor of State, seventy-nine years of age, who, advised by Fouquier-Tinville, his former subordinate, to deny having sent money to his *émigré* son-in-law, refused to purchase life by a falsehood. There is Malesherbes, who, safe in Switzerland, hurried back to Paris to defend his royal master at the bar of the Convention, and afterwards offered to defend the Queen, though conscious that

¹ Their arrest is attributed to Gaudot, a Paris collector, whom they had dismissed for dishonesty. In order to destroy the proofs of his guilt, he professed to make revelations against them, and was consequently allowed access to their papers.

his own fate was thus sealed. His daughter, his granddaughter, and her husband perished with him. What a contrast between this veteran of 72 and Target, who, though only 54, pretended that he was too old to undertake Louis's defence. I notice, moreover, that while Tronchet and de Sèze, who acted with Malesherbes, adopted in their letters to the Convention the absurd term of "Louis Capet," Malesherbes styles his royal client simply Louis.¹ King he could not, Capet he would not, say. There is the Irish abbé Edgeworth, who when he accompanied his royal penitent to the scaffold, fully expected to be torn to pieces by the mob. There is Henriette Cannet, who, a childless widow,² wished to exchange clothes with her friend of girlhood days, Madame Roland, so that the latter might escape from prison and devote her life to her husband and child. There is Madame Lavergne, who, resolved to share the fate of her husband, startled the Revolutionary Tribunal by crying "*Vive le roi!*" Nor were these the only women who courted death so as to accompany or rejoin a beloved one. When Tardieu de Maleissye, his wife, and younger daughter were summoned to the Conciergerie for trial, the elder daughter, Madame Dubois de Berenger, whose husband had emigrated, was in consternation at being left behind; but how great her delight at finding that she, too, was on the fatal list! "Mother," she exclaimed, "we shall all die together." Yet it seems that she had a child, or children, for whose sake she might have desired to live. Clavière's wife, on hearing of her husband's suicide when condemned with the Girondins, also destroyed herself. Madame Costard, mistress of Pascal Boyer, journalist of Nîmes, on his being condemned, wrote a vehemently royalist letter to Fouquier, thus thrusting herself on the guillotine. "I cannot live without Boyer," she said, "and I cannot live under a government like yours, where we see nothing but massacre and pillage." She signed the letter literally with her blood. This victim of the age of 25, it

¹ C. 243.

² She died in 1838, aged 89. See p. 308.

should be added, had a husband as well as a paramour. Another mistress, if we are to credit Legonvé, witnessed her lover's execution, followed the cart to the cemetery, by a bribe of 100 louis obtained his head, and was walking home with it concealed under her dress when she fainted, whereupon the head rolled on the ground, and she was arrested and executed. And at Lyons Legonvé tells us of a young woman who begged to be shot with her brother, the only survivor of the fusillades, and on being repelled threw herself into the Rhone.¹ So steeped in Plutarch were Frenchwomen of that time.

Then there is Admiral Kersaint, who after voting for the imprisonment of Louis XVI. till the peace in lieu of death, resigned his seat in the Convention rather than be the colleague of a Marat who had publicly demanded 200,000 heads. There is Benoit Leduc, who on the morning of the King's execution asked, though vainly, for the body, that he might lay it beside the father's at Sens. There is General Loiserolles, a prisoner at St. Lazare, who on the 7th Thermidor answered the fatal roll-call in lieu of his son, said to be asleep at the time, and next day was guillotined, the registrar of the tribunal simply substituting Jean for François, and 61 for 22 as the age.² Well might he have remarked in prison that the members of the Convention spoke like apostles but acted like cannibals. There is Delphine de Custine, of whom we shall hear again, who vainly urged her husband to exchange clothes with her that he might escape from prison. She would have then put on the dress of the jailor's daughter, who was quite ready to take the chance of herself escaping, or of being guillotined. There is the unknown woman, who, when Madame de Custine was threatened by a furious mob on leaving the court where her father-in-law was being tried, lent her her infant, a burden which protected her from maltreatment until, quit of the mob, she could hand the infant back to its mother, the two women parting without

¹ *Le Merite des Femmes*, 1800.

² *Moniteur*, xxii. 561.

having exchanged a syllable. There are also humble women who cheerfully forfeited their lives for sheltering recusant priests or attending clandestine masses. And how many devoted retainers and faithful friends there must have been who imperilled or sacrificed themselves without a thought of the fame which helped to sustain a Roland or a Corday.

CHAPTER VII

AMOR OMNIA VINCIT

A Courtship at Nantes : Villenave and Miss Tasset—Madame Roland's Letters to Buzot—*Émigrés* and their wives or mistresses—The poet Roucher to his daughter.

WE have seen that so far from the Revolution absorbing every thought and disquieting every mind, life, except indeed among the aristocracy, went on very much as before. Love was no exception, and it is interesting to see how the social influence of Rousseau, whose political influence had been so powerful, continued to act even on those who had reason to detest his political theories. While Robespierre was his avowed disciple, and while Marat had all his defects *minus* his genius, there were many men and women in the upper and middle class for whom the *Nouvelle Héloïse* was a gospel and St. Preux and Julia were models. And here we are not dependent on memoirs more or less falsified by lapse of memory or love of embellishment, nor on delineators of manners, who are apt to view everything through preconceived theories. We have authentic letters, trustworthy because never designed for publication, which depict love in its various forms, but all or nearly all *à la* Rousseau.

We may begin with a courtship. Let us go to Nantes at the beginning of 1792, when, though the King was a virtual prisoner at the Tuileries, though the emigrant nobles were busy at Coblenz, though Austria and Prussia were meditating an invasion, there was a political lull, so that most people imagined the worst storms of the Revolution to be over.

At Nantes, a town then containing 70,000 inhabitants, there had settled in 1786 a retired musician named Joseph

Tasset. Born at Chartres in 1732, the son of an expert wood-carver who made flutes, Tasset, at six years of age, gave lessons on the flute; at sixteen he held public performances; and he shortly afterwards went to England, where he had aristocratic pupils, such as the Duchess of Hamilton, latterly Duchess of Argyll, one of the "beautiful Miss Gunnings." He knew Sterne, and Handel applauded his invention of a flute with eighteen keys. He was considered the prince of flute-players, excelled in Scotch airs, and composed several sonatas. He figures in some musical encyclopædias as an Englishman, his name misspelt Tacet. He had retired on a competency, with an English wife, who died about 1788, and an only child, Jeanne Marianne, born in London, probably about 1766. The Tassets lived in the Cours St. André, one of the avenues covering the site of the old fortifications. Nantes houses were not then crowded together as they are now, and there was a back-garden in which the widower, well-meaning but reserved and rather difficult to please, loved to saunter in his dressing gown, sometimes deaf to the dinner-bell, so that Marianne had to despatch her English maid to repeat the summons.

Tasset seems to have had sisters living in the town, which probably accounts for his settling there, and there were a few English residents, with whom Marianne may have been acquainted; but she had apparently little society, and her father had none of the qualities of a confidant. Although she could speak English and was considered English, French, after six years' absence from England, was the language most familiar to her. She had inherited her father's taste for music, but had no special talent for it; she kept a parrot and singing birds, painted a little, and read much, her favourite authors being Rousseau and Richardson. Albeit void of pretensions to beauty, she had had several offers of marriage; but if she was still single at an age when most young women were wives and mothers, it was because the only man she had really loved had died, and because she had never met another really in love with

her. Steeped in Rousseau, she would have liked a grand passion, but failing this, she had half accepted a fellow townsman, a M. de Blancard, 23 years of age, and of a highly respectable family. But fate willed otherwise.

She had a bosom friend, Mélanie Muller, apparently of Alsatian or German extraction, who had gone from Nantes, as companion or nursery-governess, to the Château of Courteilles, near Verneuil, 200 miles to the north-east. The mansion had been built in 1760 by Jacques de Barbarie, marquis de Courteilles, and it was now occupied by four generations, all women and children, a state of matters not unusual with châteaux during the Revolution. There was the widowed marquise de Courteilles, probably 70 years of age, and her step-daughter, the comtesse de Rochechouart, also a widow, for the count, one of the first nobles to join the National Assembly, had died in July 1791. He had made it a condition, on marrying his daughters, that they should remain in the nest. Accordingly there were two daughters, the duchesse Rosalie de Richelieu, wife of the grandson of the notorious *roué*, marshal Richelieu, and the princesse de Carency. Both were grass-widows, for Richelieu, married at fifteen years of age to a hump-backed girl of twelve, started the same day with his tutor on a tour, and never cohabited with his wife, while on the outbreak of the Revolution he went to Germany and thence to Russia. He returned to France after Waterloo, and became prime minister. As to Carency, he was perhaps with his father, the duc de la Vauguyon, French ambassador at Madrid, or he may have been already a black sheep, for in the Terror he was one of the infamous men known as *moutons*, prisoners who informed against their fellow-captives. Lastly, there were the two young sons of a third and eldest daughter, Mélanie, who had died in 1790, and whose husband, the duc de Piennes, afterwards duc d'Aumont, thereupon married to a woman who had long been his mistress, was in disgrace. The two boys, Ernest, ten years old, who eventually joined his uncle Richelieu in Russia, and was killed in Persia in 1805, and

Zosime, his junior, obviously required a tutor. Moreover, the four ladies, who had been intimate with madame de Stael in Paris, were doubtless in need of a person of the other sex to protect them from revolutionary annoyances.

That tutor and protector, apparently recommended by Roberts, a professor of English in Paris,¹ was Mathieu Guillaume Villenave. Born in Languedoc in 1762, the son of a doctor, Villenave was tonsured at nine, that he might have a family benefice; but resigning this at twenty-one to a younger brother, he repaired to Paris, with the idea of entering the king's life guards. Finding, however, that two years' probation without pay was required, he obtained through the abbé Ricard—Ricard, the future translator of Plutarch, had, since the father's death in 1772, interested himself in the Villenave family—a tutorship to the comte de Pontgibaud. Like many other tutors, he retained the clerical garb, and the title of abbé, but was a sort of hybrid, not irrevocably committed to the priesthood. In 1786 he unsuccessfully competed for an Academy prize, the subject being an ode on the duke of Brunswick's rescue of a man from drowning in an inundation of the Oder. He obtained an introduction to Marie Antoinette, and had hopes of becoming tutor to the Dauphin when the Revolution broke out. Enraptured with it, he threw off his frock and started a newspaper at Paris, and on the day of the famous Tennis Court sitting, he went about Versailles telling the deputies whom he met where to assemble. But journalism did not flourish with him, and he had to resume teaching. He accompanied the Courteilles family to their château. A true southerner, he was fervid and impulsive. Before leaving home—whither he never returned, though his mother was living as late as 1797—he had been in love with a novice in a convent; he had since had two other attachments, and he was now half engaged to a Mademoiselle Desroziers. He had naturally much conversation with Mélanie Muller,

¹ By whose lessons 'at the Military School Napoleon, 'as he afterwards regretted, failed to profit.

who had a talent for painting, and had hopes of earning a livelihood, or even fame, by her brush. It would seem that she declined his overtures, but imagined that he would be a suitable husband for Marianne Tasset. She accordingly showed him Marianne's letters and her portrait. The letters made more impression than the portrait, which did not argue beauty. Villenave also was a disciple of Rousseau, and sighed for a romantic passion. It was not love at first sight, but love without sight. Early in January 1792 he wrote to "Miss Tasset," as she was styled, and within three months sixteen letters were exchanged. These, with the exception of the first, have been preserved, and were probably sold with Villenave's autographs and other manuscripts in 1856. They are now the property of M. Frédéric Masson, and were published, but without any elucidations, in the *Revue Rétrospective*, in 1890. After the lapse of a hundred years these love letters have not lost their aroma, but they are too bulky to give in full, and to summarise them would be like crushing a butterfly or a rose. Extracts must therefore suffice. Let me premise that religion and politics are equally conspicuous by their absence. Nominally Catholics, both parties were evidently of the creed of Rousseau, and Marianne was no politician, but Villenave's total silence on passing events is surprising, considering that he had already dabbled in politics, and was destined to burn his fingers in that then dangerous game.

On the 11th January, Marianne writes to Mélanie :—

I have received M. de Villenave's letter. I should like, and I ought, to reply, but cannot. Apologise to him for me, dear Mélanie. Tell him that imperative circumstances do not allow me at this moment to give him a reply, which I shall soon have the pleasure of writing to him, that I could not do so just now in a way satisfactory to my delicacy, that I should be afraid of misleading him and deceiving myself, that I wish to be open and straightforward with him, as I desire him to be with me, and that if it is really true that my dear Mélanie's praises have kindled in his heart sentiments of which I am too little deserving to be able to believe in them, I shall endeavour, even while seeking to destroy them, to preserve his esteem.

She goes on to explain that she has an admirer who had lost his situation by outstaying his holiday for her sake, and that she is dependent on her father. She asks whether Villenave, if he marries, will retain his present post, whether his pupils' education is nearly completed, whether if forced to leave he can find another situation, or an employment respectable and lucrative enough to spare her father the suspicion of mercenary motives, and herself the vexation of seeing her husband dependent on her father. She adds :—

If M. de Villenave can reply satisfactorily to all these questions, if he can really succeed in persuading me of the fact of an attachment which I can scarcely comprehend, if finally I can succeed in reconciling my inclinations with my duties, I will then tell him all that my heart and circumstances may permit me to say.

Six days later she writes again to Mélanie :—

If you knew all that I have undergone since replying to M. de Villenave's letter, the cruel days, the sad nights, which I have passed, the fearful uncertainty in which I am placed, you would pity, oh ! you would greatly pity me. . . . Mélanie, I confess that his letter surprised me to a degree I cannot express. You read it, you are consequently better able to judge than I, especially as you know the writer. Tell me candidly, do you think he *loves* me? So strange, so romantic, an attachment, *is* it natural? Do you not discern some motive which may induce him to feign what he perhaps does not feel? For how is it that, affectionate and susceptible as he seems to be, he has not rather profited by the happy chance which you offered to his view of becoming loved by an object combining, with the most pleasing talents and the most natural mind, all the seductions that the Graces and youth can add? How is it natural, in short, that he has not tried to please an object present, and calculated to charm whoever has eyes and heart, rather than to be enamoured of a plain woman who is 200 miles off, and whom, perhaps, he would cease to love as soon as he saw her?

Moreover, she remembers Mélanie having told her that Villenave had paid her attentions, and was also in love

with "all your duchesses." "A fickle man, ready to take fire at the first object presenting itself, would not at all do for me. He would soon kill me with love and jealousy." What most alarms her are his good looks, for how can she satisfy him?

How renounce the honest, estimable man to whom I am, as it were, pledged, and whom I may render unhappy? Ah! Mélanie, it would be much better for you to love M. de Villenave and marry him. Your children would be little darlings, I should be fond of both of you, and all four of us would be happy. . . . Pray write as soon as possible. For you must feel how essential it is for me to know what to expect respecting M. de Villenave. Do not, I entreat you, keep me in suspense. Try and sound him as much as possible. Remember that the happiness of my life is at stake.

There is an enclosure for Villenave, in which, after speaking of her embarrassment and hesitation, she says:—

This preamble will perhaps surprise you, but allow me to tell you that the surprise will not be greater than I felt on reading your letter. I expected, indeed, to receive it; I even wished for it, but I was scarcely prepared for its contents. Do not imagine on that account that it offended me; I am frank, and will confess that the avowal you make, so far from angering me, would have infinitely flattered me if I could have ventured to believe in it. But how can you expect me to believe and to persuade myself that you *love* me? Remember, sir, that you have never seen me, that you know me only by hearsay, that Mélanie's portrait of me was sketched by a hand which embellishes all it touches, and that that hand was guided by friendship. Learn, in short, that I may have some good points, but that altogether I am what is called a plain woman, that I am probably older than you, and reflect after all this whether, without running a risk of passing even in your own judgment for extravagant, I can persuade myself that I am capable of captivating a man of your merit, age, and figure. I believe you like me, but I think you form, from the praises lavished on me by a too partial friend, an idea of my mind and my slender talents which would be much lessened if I had the honour of being known to you. Disabuse yourself, therefore, sir; do not take me for an extraordinary woman, but merely for an affectionate and extremely susceptible one, a woman whose heart does not always let her head

reflect, a woman whose perhaps rather too lively imagination is ready to take fire, but never except for objects she thinks the worthiest of her esteem.

After explaining that Blancard has seen Villenave's letters, and wishes her to see the writer before she decides between the two, she adds :—

You perhaps imagine me rich ; now disabuse yourself of the idea. I possess something, and have expectations ; my situation is tolerable, but in no way brilliant. However, I think I have already hinted to you that I am dependent on a father who will act generously to me, but will not impoverish himself for my benefit, especially as, while allowing me to marry, I am well aware he does not wish it. Before arranging anything, therefore, you must be sure of retaining your present post or of obtaining another which would make up for its loss. . . . In testifying a desire to know you, I have no thought of urging you to come to Nantes ; I feel how ridiculous the proposal would be, yet I cannot conceal from myself that that plan, assuming it possible, is the only one which can make us acquainted, and can consequently decide my fate.

This letter crosses one from Villenave, dated the 19th January :—

So I am under the knife of destiny. At the moment I am writing my fate is perhaps settled, irrevocably decreed. Oh ! Miss [*sic in orig.*], you will not be mine, and I shall never see you. Fool that I was ! I contrived, despite all possibilities, to fancy that it would be possible to convert my heart's romance into history. . . . Oh ! Miss, you escape me, I no longer hope for aught ; I have read that letter, so fatal to my tranquillity ; it is my admiration and my torment. All is over between you and me ; I bid you a perhaps eternal farewell. . . . Your heart is pre-engaged. . . . Had I gone to see you, you would have said to yourself : "Behold him, he is neither handsome nor ugly, good-looking rather than not, and tall ; there is nothing striking in his figure, but nothing displeasing. He has chestnut hair, dark eyes, good teeth ; his countenance is mild and open, his manner is amiable and sensible ; let us make him talk." Then I should have said to the amiable Miss, "My mind is better than my person. I know that you do not think yourself pretty, but if you love me you will ever be so in my eyes. I have not come 200 miles for your face or your fortune, but I would have

come a thousand for your good and amiable qualities." Here, Miss, you would have blushed, but not so much as I should. "I come to offer you my hand and heart. I should have preferred to enrich you, I can only love you."

He proceeds to quote four lines from Pope, beginning—

O happy state, when souls each other draw,

which made Marianne imagine that he knew English, an idea which he had to correct.

On the 30th January Villenave writes :—

What was she (Mélanie) thinking of in telling you that she had made a conquest of me, and that I was in love with all the ladies of the château? Really, Miss, this puzzles me. Was it vanity, or merely one of those sallies made without reflection, and without foreseeing what may one day have vexatious consequences? I have great respect for our ladies, I find them amiable and kind, but assuredly that is all.

He also likes Mélanie, but she is flighty, and is devoted to painting; her talk of Marianne, together with the letters and portrait, had smitten him :—

Do not fancy, kind and amiable Miss, that I am a frivolous, fickle, thoughtless young man. I am 29; I have loved twice in my life. For a long time I knew misfortune; I have felt the nothingness and frivolity of the world; I have gained experience, tact, yet I have preserved my morals. . . . I have numberless defects, but not one vice. . . . How flattered I feel to be able to call myself your *ami*. Your pretty hand has signed this permission. Oh believe, amiable Miss, that it is too much for my deserts, but not enough for my heart. . . . How alarmed I am at the inclination which draws you to my rival.¹ What! you read him my letter, Mélanie's, and even your own. Oh, dearest Marianne, I am lost if you have not the courage to veil from him the secrets of your own heart and of mine. . . . A word from your mouth and I fly to your feet, or I remain for ever fixed on the spot where destiny has prepared, matured, and decreed my misfortune.

¹ As to whom he has questioned Mélanie, who, however, did not know him. She has also played a joke on Marianne, by sending her an Apollo Belvedere as Villenave's portrait.

Marianne writes to Mélanie on the 5th February :—

M. de Villenave's letter is charming ; it proves what I knew but too well, that he is the most amiable, the most fascinating of men, but it does not at all prove that he is the man destined for me, for it was written before mine, and does not answer any of my questions. Ah! Mélanie, if he has received mine I am sure he has given me up. What man could stand such an ordeal? He would have to love, to love passionately, and how could he love me? He does not know me.

She asks Mélanie to bring Villenave over to Nantes, and to make acquaintance with Blancard, who, if not an amiable, is a thoroughly honest man, to whom she has told all, as she was bound to do, for he has a chance elsewhere amply compensating him for the loss of her.

Villenave, writing on the 12th February, says :—

I have seen everything, read everything, your letters, your post-script. I hold them, I clasp them, I read them, I re-read them, I cover them with tears and kisses ; I am victor. Yes, yes, I enjoy my triumph. . . . They are mine, all your letters to Mademoiselle Mélanie. I hold them, I keep them, she shall never have them back, not even your first ones, though in these there is nothing about me. These are my titles, my glory, thy soul, thy virtues, thy mind, my happiness, my triumph. No human power shall ever deprive me of them. . . . Beg her to leave me this precious deposit, it is mine for ever ; the thief will give it up only at the gallows. And Miss Tasset's portrait, painted by herself ! more than a month ago it was stolen, taken by force. Oh ! that also shall never be restored. . . . I also have made a sacrifice. A marriage that was offered me, a young lady, not handsome, yet pleasing, amiable, but not of much education, and without talent, not rich, but much richer than I am, a respectable family, to whom I was not displeasing. Well, six weeks ago I stated in the most straightforward way that I could no longer be reckoned upon. I had then but little hope of possessing Miss Tasset, but I was desiring, I was soliciting her hand ; I would not leave an estimable family under any mistake. Behold, Miss, what delicacy prevented my telling you a fortnight ago, and what you should never have known had you refused me. . . . Thou wilt have to deduct much from thy friend's excessive praises, but I can say with Rousseau, "I do not know a better man

than myself." Oh! Miss, kind and sweet friend, forgive me for having *thou'd* you: I swear that this shall not happen again without thy permission, but I shall obtain it, shall I not? . . . Receive the tender kiss of love. Remember that my fault is involuntary, that my intoxication is thine own work, and then—dare to punish me.

On the 16th February he again writes :—

I will not await your reply, my dear Marianne—allow me this sweet familiarity of expression—to ask you to forgive the extravagance of my last letter. . . . You will tell me "many sins are remitted you because you have loved much." Then, doubt not, I shall with difficulty resist the temptation of becoming still more culpable.

He is impatient to see her, yet has misgivings, and suggests that the abbé Ricard should first visit Nantes and speak for him :—

I see myself 50 years hence a good old patriarch, with Marianne and our children, who will have learned to love each other and us. Adieu, good, amiable, sensible miss. . . . Open thy sweet lips to the kiss of love. These kisses, which come from such a distance, are not bitter, like those which St. Preux received from Julia. Adieu, miss; adieu, Marianne; adieu, wife. How sweet to talk with thee, how painful to quit thee.

Marianne, forgetting this time to give a date, writes :—

You have seen my letters, you have read your own triumph and my weakness. I have only therefore to blush and be silent. But do not imagine it is with shame. Far from blushing at the feeling which draws me to you, I am proud of it, but I confess I would rather have kept you in ignorance of it till my worth could have taught it you. The confession, it seems to me, would have been sweeter for us. I should have read your happiness in your eyes; I should have said, "He is happy, and I am the cause of it." . . . You perhaps can wait patiently. You are a man, and a philosopher to boot, but I, who am only a woman, that is to say a weak, sensitive, curious woman, *I* wait? No, I can never wait above three weeks from to-day at most, and I shall conclude, if you do not come at the prescribed time, that you do not love me at all. . . .

But alas, ought I to hurry you to start? Ought I to hasten the moment when I shall perhaps irrevocably lose you? For what if my presence lowers the veil which conceals all my imperfections from your eyes? . . . I know not why, but of late I find myself much plainer than usual. Alas, it is perhaps because I never so much deserved to be handsome. . . . Fancy, not merely am I no beauty, but I am stout, tolerably well-shaped indeed, but not having what is called a slim figure; I have a white skin, dark and rather full eyes, a countenance which people call expressive, and I had the finest hair possible, but an illness two years ago made me lose it. It is growing again, but is still short, and so thick that it enlarges rather than adorns my head. I have besides a large nose, thick lips, in short I am much like my portrait, but perhaps still plainer, and that, you know, is not handsome. . . . I cannot love by halves; the lover who has learned to please me ceases to be a man, he becomes a god who rules and governs my destiny at his will; I live and breathe only through him. Remember that I shall love you as you have never, perhaps, been loved, but that I desire the like. Remember, lastly, that I have never understood fickleness, and that yours would kill me. . . . My mind has made, I am sure, more than a hundred journeys to Courteilles. Alas, if you would hasten your promised journey a little, you would spare me much travelling and fulfil all my heart's desires. . . . I hope now to get at least one letter a week, but beware, sir, of writing me more than three; I should refuse them, and to make me take them in you would have to bring them yourself.

Writing to Mélanie on the 17th February, Marianne asks whether Villenave often talks of her, whether he seems happy:—

How I long for, yet dread, the moment when I can clasp you both to my breast, bedew you with the sweet tears of sentiment, and say to myself, "Behold her who will make my happiness, behold him to whom I owe it."

Blancard, in a parting interview, had wished her well, and had asked for continued friendship and correspondence:—

Ah, Mélanie, what it costs me to afflict an honest man, and what would I not give never to have known that unfortunate young

man! I have informed my father of M. de Villenave's visit and sentiments. He seems disposed to receive him well, but I hear him sigh, though I hope M. de Villenave will convert his uneasiness into happiness, without which my own would not be perfect.

On the 23rd February, Villenave writes to the abbé Bradt to ask him to break off negotiations in another quarter, for he had a more advantageous prospect, though still very uncertain. Nevertheless he would not run after two women at once, and would rather miss both than deceive either. It is difficult to reconcile this letter with what he had told Mélanie on the 12th February of a rupture then six weeks old. Had he three strings to his bow?

On the 24th February Marianne writes :—

O my friend, I exist only the days when I hear from you, the rest of the week I pass in waiting and longing. I am constantly sending to the post, I ask everybody about the arrival of the mails, and I should exhaust the patience of those around me if their friendship for me did not make it inexhaustible. Yes, you love me, I believe it, I feel it, and I begin to flatter myself that your inclination, springing from affinities of soul, will resist everything, even our first interview, and that you will love me even without beauty, because you will love not my face, but my heart. If my letters fell into the hands of some prude I should doubtless be blamed, but as I have never been either a prude or a coquette, and as my feelings, I venture to say, are as pure as my heart, I do not blush to avow them to him whose happiness I hope they will ensure. . . . Ah, I begin to believe you are he whom my heart has so long sought, he who should realise all the dreams of my imagination, he whom I once thought I had found, but whom fate made me know only to deprive me of him for ever. . . . If you come, as I presume, by coach, I will send somebody to meet you. We are sorry not to be able to lodge you, but except at night you will be always with us.

Villenave writes on the 27th February :—

I swear thou shalt be mine, mine for ever. No human power can prevent a union long doubtless foreseen and determined in

the inexplicable Book of Fate. Thy father will love me, because I shall make his daughter happy. . . . Thou art an angel. No, thou canst not be plain! Ah, thou shalt never be so in my eyes. . . . I loved for six years a plain woman because she had answered my first letter without coquetry and with the effusion of a heart more enamoured than my own.

Three days later he writes again to say that though he has done with correspondence, he will bring a number of letters to satisfy her father of his character. "I give thee the tender kiss of love."

On the 4th March Marianne writes :—

Oh how my heart thrills at the idea of soon seeing you. . . . Seeing you so handsome (in his "flattered" portrait by Mélanie, enclosed in the letter of the 27th February), how is it possible not to find myself a hundred times plainer than usual? . . . I was almost as vexed to find you as good-looking as to see myself (in the glass) so plain. . . . There is still time enough, make your reflections, spare yourself the horrors perhaps of repentance. You do not say whether you have a mother living, but I should be so glad to love and respect her. Alas that I have none. How her beautiful soul would rejoice at our happiness; how she would love you! But for three years she has rested in the tomb, and as long as I live she will be the object of my keenest regrets, just as while living she was that of my tenderest love. . . . The *Nouvelle Héloïse* is for me the first of romances, Julia the first of women, and St. Preux the model of lovers. I know no hero in Richardson to compare with him. Clarissa, charming and interesting as she is, does not affect me, with her grand virtues, as much as Julia, tender Julia, even with her failings. . . . Should I not look for a room in the neighbourhood, as near us as possible? . . . Adieu, then, I leave you, but only to think of you, to look at your portrait, to read your letters, to applaud my choice, to bless her to whom I owe the happiness of again loving, in short, to busy myself only with you and with the moment when I shall enjoy the inexpressible happiness of seeing you, and hearing you ask me for the first time, "Dost thou love me?"—charming question, to which I shall eagerly reply, "How I love thee."¹

¹ Here she for once uses the second person singular.

On the 8th, she writes again :—

Your letter is charming, adorable. You write like an angel, I should say like a god, but that it is dated Courteilles. That date pains me, and you know that the gods never give pain. My imagination still depicts your arrival with Mélanie. She enters first, I rush into her arms, but while embracing her, I look for you, I discover you at last, and I rush to clasp you too in turn to my heart throbbing with pleasure. My beloved, I am so full of this idea that frequently on hearing the bell, and seeing the door open, I involuntarily tremble and fancy it is you.

She goes on to speak of an intimate friend who had ridiculed the notion of love without sight. She hopes Villenave is fond of music, and not fond of the chase.

Villenave, unaccompanied by Mélanie, has to go first to Paris, whence he writes on the 11th March, on the eve of starting—

Oh, my beloved, in three days I shall be at thy feet, on thy neck, at thy side. . . . I arrive pale, cramped, my hair untrimmed, dirty, crumpled, looking like a shop Adonis. I shall, however, if I can, spare my dear Mélanie the imposing view of my head buried in a large dirty cotton cap. Ah, if I had more vanity than love, I should not see Marianne till the day after my arrival, but even if I had just emerged from a bog I do not know whether I should be courageous enough to delay by one hour that first so ardently desired interview.

Writing again from Mans, on Friday the 16th, he says :—

Dining takes a long time, and we sleep at an inn every other night, so that though we set off this morning at 3, we have done only 40 miles. We shall reach Nantes on Sunday evening, perhaps at 6, perhaps at 10. . . . Twenty-four hours must still elapse before I see my beloved. Oh, how slowly the time passes. My impatience, my love, prevents me from sleeping.

This is Villenave's last letter. Can we not fancy that Sunday evening at Nantes—how Marianne sent her maid an hour before the time to meet the coach and conduct

Villenave to his lodging, how he goes thither to make himself presentable, how Marianne has taken unusual pains with her toilette, how she questions the maid as to how he looked, and what he said, how she listens impatiently for the bell, how it rings at last, and then— There is not a line from Villenave to any outsider to give us his impressions of the interview. We have only Marianne's mention of it, and this does not enter into details, but takes everything for granted. She writes to Mélanie on the following Saturday :—

To depict my felicity would be to depict my gratitude, but I know of no colours, no pencils, which can express what I feel, no, not even yours. A happiness like mine is felt, it is not expressed. . . . I write you this letter just before going to bed, for there is no writing when my dear Villenave is here, I can then only look at him, listen to him, talk with him, occupy myself with him.

A week later she writes to Madame de Ginguéné at Rennes, pressing her to come over to the wedding :—

Remember that one generally marries but once in a lifetime, and that there is only one M. de Villenave in the world. He has travelled a hundred leagues for me, I feel that I would go a thousand for him. . . . One of the few men met with only in romances or in women's imaginations. . . . We are having delicious days together. No, never was there a mind more amiable, more tender, more sensitive, more loving, more loved, more worthy of being so.

On the 7th April she writes to Mélanie :—

Never will be effaced from my recollection the moment when we saw and embraced each other for the first time. My heart could scarcely contain its feelings. I was no longer on earth, I was in heaven. I am still there, and can say that I know and taste happiness in all its purity.

Villenave is seemingly capable of jealousy, for she now writes to Blancard asking him to drop the correspondence, and he, with renewed good wishes, regretfully consents. On the 22nd April she tells Mélanie that her father and her lover had had a few quarrels. The father evidently did not

think a precarious tutorship a satisfactory position, and he wished Villenave to become a barrister at Nantes, but Villenave feels that it would be ungrateful to the Courteilles ladies abruptly to throw up his post. He is therefore to return to it, and Marianne is to join him in two months. The wedding has been delayed by Villenave having to send for documents.

We marry, then, on Thursday or Saturday, at 8 P.M. I need not beg you to address supplications to heaven for your friend's happiness. . . . I have but one thing to ask of heaven, the continuance of the love of him whom I shall not cease to adore except on ceasing to live, but who would soon make me cease to live by ceasing to love me. . . . I send you a million kisses, as much for my dear Navau (a pet name she had given Villenave) as for myself.

On May eve, 1792, heedless or unconscious of gathering political troubles, Miss Tasset became Madame de Villenave, and the bridegroom, who, as we have seen, dabbled in rhyme, wrote sixteen verses, which were appended to the letters. Whether, after all, he returned to Courteilles is uncertain, but if so, he soon left and settled at Nantes, where an illustrious refugee became his friend, and perhaps his lodger. Bailly, the astronomer and ex-mayor of Paris, so suddenly raised to eminence, so suddenly fallen from it, went thither about July 1792, in the hope that the influence of a friend, Gelée de Premon, would ensure him protection, but the poor old man's troubles were soon renewed. 6000 francs were claimed from him as arrears of taxes for the house he had occupied as mayor, and to meet this claim he had to part with his library. His house at Chaillot, just outside Paris, had also to be sold. Moreover, the Girondins, then in power, sent orders to the Nantes authorities to place him under surveillance, and once a week Bailly had to go and report himself to the public prosecutor, Garreau (a friend of Marianne's), who, however, we may be sure, made the ceremony as little irksome as possible. Roland, best described as Madame Roland's husband, next wrote a curt letter to tell him that the apartments at the

Louvre, occupied for more than a century by his family, as curators of the picture galleries, must be vacated, and a bailiff was even sent to clear out the furniture. No wonder if with all these worries Bailly could not collect his thoughts for serious studies. He spent most of his time in novel-reading, and would pleasantly say, "My day has been well employed, for since getting up this morning I have read two or three volumes of the latest novel from the circulating library, and I can give a summary of it to anybody who likes to hear it."¹ This pastime, however, was varied by conversations with Villenave and his friend Pariset, then twenty-two years of age, afterwards a distinguished surgeon, on Homer, Aristotle, Plato, French classics, astronomy, and scientific progress. Bailly was pressed by Casans, who, by the capture of the island of Grenada, had become a British subject, to accompany him to England or America, and Madame Bailly, who was with him, was anxious that he should do so, but Bailly thought it cowardly, after the part he had played, to flee the country. After the siege of Nantes, however, by the Vendéans, the revolutionary temper became too heated to allow of his remaining there, and he accepted an invitation (unhappily countermanded too late) to go and live with Laplace, his fellow astronomer, at Melun. Villenave, whom Bailly had got to style "my son," was going with his wife to Rennes, on a visit doubtless to Madame de Ginguéné, and on the 6th of July 1793 Bailly started with them. Of his rough reception by the Melun mob, his despatch as a prisoner to Paris, his manly evidence at Marie Antoinette's trial, his own condemnation, the hours of waiting in the rain and cold because the mob insisted on the guillotine being removed from the Champ de Mars to a neighbouring ditch—of this I need not speak. It is pleasing to think that Bailly passed a year of comparative tranquillity in the society, perhaps under the roof of the Villenaves, so that when on the 26th February 1844 Arago at the Paris Academy of Sciences delivered a eulogium on Bailly, he could point to Villenave and Pariset, there

¹ Condorcet while in concealment in Paris also read novels to kill time.

present, and thank them in the name of science and humanity for ensuring some moments of peaceful happiness to an old man, heart-broken at public ingratitude.

Oh that Villenave's entire conduct during the Revolution had been on the same plane ! But he became president of the revolutionary clubs, and drew up an address complimenting the Convention on the execution of Louis XVI. On Nantes being besieged by the Vendéans, he argued that "law should slumber in such critical circumstances," and that though prisoners should have a fair trial the penalty should be promptly enforced. He was shortly afterwards appointed assistant public prosecutor. According to his own statement he brought to the block the first noble, the first priest, and the first *bourgeois* in Nantes, and in three months conducted a hundred prosecutions. It is true that he afterwards retracted this assertion as having been made to save his life, and maintained that during his fifty-five official sittings there were but twenty-two condemnations, with 109 acquittals. Whichever version is true,¹ he was not "thorough" enough for the infamous Carrier, whose abominations at Nantes eclipsed even the atrocities of Paris. With revolutionary inconsistency Marianne was arrested as a foreigner, though her father was left unmolested, but she was soon released. Not so Villenave, who was apprehended on the 10th September 1793, and with 130 other inhabitants was sent by Carrier, on the 9th of November 1793, to Paris, as Girondin conspirators. They were driven thither like a flock of sheep, sometimes tied together with a rope to prevent escape, frequently crowded at night into small bare chapels, and exposed to all sorts of privations. Indeed it seems to have been intended that they should be massacred on the way. Some succumbed on the journey, and illness obliged Villenave to halt for some time at Blois. The survivors, on reaching Paris, were treated with comparative humanity, but for six weeks Marianne's letters were withheld from Villenave, as the

¹ He pleaded in excuse that few men had passed through the Revolution blameless.

chief conspirator, though the other prisoners received theirs.¹ Tasset went up to Paris to plead for his son-in-law, and he published Villenave's account of the prisoners' journey, which speedily ran through several editions. Happily the trial was postponed till after Robespierre's fall, and the prisoners, after a seven days' trial, were acquitted, in September 1794, by the strange verdict of "Guilty of conspiring against the unity of the Republic, but not guilty of counter-revolutionary intentions." Villenave stayed in Paris to defend several of Carrier's accomplices, who with two exceptions were acquitted, Carrier, however, paying the full penalty of his crimes.

Returning to Nantes, Villenave practised as a barrister. He had aristocratic clients, but as he left it to them to pay what they chose, his receipts were scarcely a thousand crowns (£200) a year. When therefore the bar was reorganised he did not care to qualify, but contented himself with a professorship. From 1797 to 1800 he also edited a newspaper. Tasset, impoverished by the Revolution, died in 1801, and two years later Villenave, selling his library, removed to Paris, to a fifth floor in the house of the poetaster Delille. He supported himself by newspaper articles, compilations, and numerous contributions to the *Biographie Universelle*. He formed a fresh library of 25,000 volumes, and his house was the resort of literary, political, and even ecclesiastical celebrities, for the Revolution had made him, like many other free-thinkers, a good Catholic. A political Vicar of Bray, he was by turns royalist, Girondin, imperialist, legitimist, and Orleanist, but this was from temperament rather than interest, for we hear of no patronage from these successive governments. Let us hope he was more constant to his wife, who, as I find by her tombstone at Montparnasse, died in 1832. Villenave, who published verses as late as 1844, lived till 1846. He left two children, Mélanie, named after Mdlle. Muller, who was

¹ His old patronesses, Madame de Rochechouart and Madame de Richelieu, were also prisoners in Paris in the spring of 1794, and Courteilles passed into other hands.

born in 1796, and died in 1871, and Theodore, who was born in 1798, and died in 1867. Both were authors, and in one of her books, *Mélanie*,¹ Madame Valdor, pays a warm tribute to her mother. Two other children had died in infancy. Marianne, one is inclined to think, was more than equal to her husband, who in his prison notes describes her as "alike superior in mind and in heart." Her life, beginning in London and ending in Paris, was a singularly chequered one. Had she written a complete autobiography, though it might not have equalled in interest the four months' glimpse given by her letters, it would not have fallen into such speedy oblivion as the multifarious productions of her husband and her children.

Let us now turn to the letters of a woman likewise steeped in Rousseau, but also in Plutarch, a woman therefore of very different mould, a mixture of the Roman matron and the modern sentimentalist, of Portia and Julia, yet who but for the Revolution would have been unknown save to a small circle. These letters were addressed to a man likewise steeped in Plutarch and Rousseau, drawn in his turn into the revolutionary vortex, and destined like her to be a victim of his virtues and illusions. I speak of Madame Roland and François Nicolas Léonard Buzot. That a platonic affection existed between them had long been suspected, but no tangible traces of it were supposed to be in existence till 1863, when a young man offered a Paris bookseller some manuscripts bequeathed him by his father, and of the source of which he was ignorant. These papers, purchased for a nominal sum, included five letters written from prison in 1793 by Madame Roland to Buzot.

¹ Separated from her husband, *Mélanie* in 1832 was the mistress of the elder Dumas, but she ultimately became a devout Catholic. Napoleon III. pensioned her for some service rendered to him during his Presidency of the Republic, and her salon at Paris was frequented by struggling artists and adventurers, her kindly interest in whom sometimes exceeded the bounds of discretion. Thus she once took to Fontainebleau Lazerges, a painter who had fruitlessly solicited Court patronage, and threw herself down with him at the feet of the Empress Eugénie as she was mounting a horse. The Empress, at first angry, then amused, commissioned him to do some decorations.

Marie Phlipon, then 39 years of age, had been since 1780 the wife of Roland, an inspector of manufactures, who after three years of vacillation had offered her his hand. She was introduced to him by her old school-mates, the two sisters Cannet, of Amiens. One of them, Henriette, had received attentions from Roland, and had probably counted on marrying him, so that his choice of Marie Phlipon caused a long estrangement. The estrangement, indeed, continued till this very year 1793, when Henriette visited Madame Roland in prison, and offered, as we have seen, to change clothes with her, that she might escape and live for her husband and daughter. The generous proposal was of course declined. The prisoner must have felt that she had been the cause, involuntarily or otherwise, of one sacrifice, and that she could not accept a second, that of life itself. In 1780 she had had several suitors, and at least one semi-engagement. We cannot help speculating on what would have happened had Henriette Cannet become Madame Roland, and had Marie Phlipon found another husband or found none. Roland would never probably have become a minister, and both he and Marie Phlipon might have lived in seclusion and security. As it was, she only brought him to the point of marrying her by taking refuge for two months as boarder in a Paris convent.¹ That she ever really loved him may be doubted.² He was exactly twenty years her senior, and apparently old for his years, so that in 1793, though he was only 59, she could style him "my venerable husband," and his interests were in technical subjects. An inventory of his papers in the National Archives—the papers were restored to Bosc, his daughter's guardian, in May 1795, but the inventory remains—shows that he studied dyeing, soap-boiling, oils, fisheries, cattle-breeding, and a great variety of industrial questions, apparently with a view to the publication of an

¹ See Join-Lambert, *Mariage de Madame Roland*; 1896.

² The pre-nuptial correspondence was bequeathed by the grand-daughter, Madame Chaley, to the Paris National Library, and has been published. Its tone contrasts strikingly with that of the letters to Buzot.

encyclopædia. He was stiff and dogmatic, and was intellectually his wife's inferior. When he was in office Danton sarcastically spoke of her as the real minister. She was, however, a virtuous wife and mother, and he certainly became strongly attached to her. But in 1789 Buzot, who was six years her junior, entered on the scene as deputy for Évreux. Madame Roland found in him a kindred spirit. Bosc, another member of the Convention, had long previously made her acquaintance,¹ and in 1790-91 she had to repress the threatening ardour of his friendship. Bancal des Issarts, a third deputy, was likewise an admirer of this fascinating woman, and she would fain have married him to Helen Maria Williams. Buzot alone found his passion reciprocated. He, too, had been married, indeed, since 1784, but to a woman thirteen years his senior,² and as incapable of sympathy with his classical ideals as Roland was incapable of sympathy with his wife's. Elective affinities thus brought them together, and Madame Roland, with the candour which she had imbibed from Rousseau, felt it her duty to reveal to Roland that had she been still free her choice would have settled on Buzot. This assuredly well-meant but cruel confession was probably one of the reasons why Roland, on quitting office, was anxious to return to the south; but he was detained in Paris by the audit of his accounts, and presently the blow fell. Both Roland and Buzot were prosecuted as Girondins, and had to conceal themselves in the country. Madame Roland, too, was thrown into prison, a sham release one day at the Abbaye being followed by immediate re-arrest.

While thus in prison she addressed these letters to Buzot, and possibly others also which did not reach him or have not been preserved. His replies she was obliged from constant fear of search to destroy. But her letters

¹ In 1784, on learning that the Rolands had consulted a doctor regarded by him as an enemy, he fled in tears from their house, and the coolness lasted for some time. "Love me, hate my enemies."

² F. 1a, 570. Her claim for compensation for the pillage and demolition of Buzot's house at Évreux shows indifferent spelling.

suffice to show that he must have answered in a similar strain. They demonstrate the purity of the relations between them, but it is painful to find Madame Roland welcoming imprisonment as relieving her from irksome conjugal duties. It is equally painful to think of Madame Buzot, still respected and in a fashion loved, but thrown far into the background in her husband's affections. It is painful, too, to think of Roland, hiding like an outlaw in Normandy, and eventually, on hearing that his wife was to be tried, stabbing himself by the roadside. It is sad to think of Buzot, a fugitive in Gascony, wandering about with Pétion and Barbaroux, and all three at the beginning of July 1794 shooting themselves because they mistook for pursuers some peasants going to a fair.

The letters are closely written on sheets of note-paper, in all thirty-two pages, and with only a single trifling erasure. Dauban, in publishing them in 1864, in his *Étude sur Madame Roland*, gave facsimiles, and their authenticity is beyond question. The handwriting¹ is very firm and regular, the same firm hand in which the day before her death she signed her interrogatory by the judges. I quote only the passages relating to her attachment for Buzot. Of the remainder it is enough to say that she refused to escape from prison, though pressed to do so both by Roland and Buzot, lest she should compromise jailors who were kind to her, and that she also deprecated a premature rising against the Jacobins. She was willing to wait, and even to forfeit her life, so that adequate preparations might be made for delivering France from the Jacobin yoke. At the time of writing these letters, however, she had no serious apprehension of being brought to trial. She must have been rudely undeceived before the 8th November 1793, when she was placed at the bar.

Dauban also published the portrait of Buzot, from a small engraving at the back of which were eight small pages of Madame Roland's writing, giving a short

¹ Which can be compared with and verified by that of her Memoirs in the National Library at Paris.

biography of him, and speaking of him in the past tense as though already dead. Here is one passage :—

Private sorrows (*chagrins de cœur*) increased the melancholy to which he was naturally inclined. . . . People will one day seek for his portrait, and place it among those of the generous friends of liberty who believed in virtue, ventured to preach it as the sole basis of a republic, and had the strength to practise it.

Dauban suggests that this portrait was the one clasped to her heart by Madame Roland, that it was found on her when guillotined, and that her letters were in like manner found on Buzot's remains, half devoured by dogs. It is more probable that the portrait was a duplicate in Buzot's possession, and that both it and the letters were entrusted by him to Jérôme Letellier, with instructions in case of his death to burn the letters.

Let us now read what they said of themselves. Madame Roland, in her "Appeal to Posterity," writes :—

Rousseau showed me the domestic happiness at which I might aim, and the ineffable delights which I might enjoy. Ah! if entirely guaranteeing me from what are called weaknesses, could he guarantee me from what is called a passion? In the corrupted age in which I was to live, and in the Revolution which I was far from foreseeing, I brought with me all that was to render me capable of great sacrifices and expose me to great misfortunes. Death alone will be for me the termination of both.

And Buzot, in a fragment of autobiography written a few months before his end, says :—

If some passions are intermixed [in his character] they are those which may honour mankind, great and simple like nature, which often uses them to develop and perfect her finest works. Happy the sage who never experienced them ; still happier he who renders himself better by them.

This is an evident allusion to his attachment to Madame Roland, and in a letter to Letellier he says :—

She no longer lives, *she* no longer lives, my friend. The wretches have murdered her. Judge whether anything remains for

me to regret. When you learn my death you will burn her letters. I do not know why I desire you to keep for yourself alone the portrait. You were equally dear to both of us. But what embitters my last moments is the fearful picture of my wife in poverty. I do not know whither this poor woman has retired. I have been unable to inform her of my fate, or learn anything of hers. I beg you in the name of friendship to care for her and help her with your counsels. When it shall be possible to claim the rights of justice and humanity, I hope some resources of my landed property which cannot have been destroyed will remain for her.

In his last letter to his wife Buzot says : "I await thee in the home of the just," and in his autobiography he writes :—

And thou, poor unfortunate, my wife, where art thou? What is to become of thee? How lonely thou wilt be on earth, for I feel that I shall not see thee again. It must end; we must part. Ah! when the news, the fearful news, of my death reaches thee, do not be disheartened. Thou must not give way to useless tears. I thank the good people who have succoured thee. May Heaven reward their affectionate friendship! I conjure them to continue their attentions, to assist thee by their exertions until the time when thou shalt be allowed to establish thy right to my confiscated property.¹

Here are now Madame Roland's letters to Buzot :—

ABBAYE, 22nd June [1793].

I read them [Buzot's letters] over and over again. I press them to my heart. I cover them with my kisses. I had no longer hoped to receive them. . . . I was in the most cruel anguish until I was assured of thy escape. It was renewed by the decree of accusation against thee. They owed, indeed, this atrocity to thy courage. . . . As for me, I shall know how peaceably to await the return of the reign of justice, or to undergo the extremest excesses of tyranny in such a way that my example also may not be quite useless. If I have had any fear it was of thy making imprudent attempts for me. *Mon ami*, it is by saving thy country that thou canst rescue me, and I would not be delivered at its expense, but should expire satisfied with knowing thee to be effectively serving thy country. . . .

¹ In April 1796 she obtained, in common with the widows of other Girondin martyrs, a pension of 2000 francs.

Behind the bars and locks I enjoy independence of thought, and I am more at peace with my conscience than my oppressors with their domination. . . . The unfortunate R[oland] has been twenty days in asylums with timorous friends, concealed from all eyes, more a captive than I am myself. I have been afraid for his head and his health. He is now in thy neighbourhood.¹ Is this also the case morally? I do not venture to tell thee, and thou art the only being in the world that can appreciate it, that I was not very sorry to be arrested. They will be less furious, less ardent, against R[oland], I said to myself. If they bring him to trial I shall be able to back him in a way which will be conducive to his reputation. It seemed to me that I was thus discharging a debt due to his chagrins; but dost thou not see also that by being alone it is with thee that I dwell? Thus by captivity I sacrifice myself to my husband and preserve myself for *mon ami*, and I owe to my executioners the reconciliation of duty and love. Do not pity me. Others admire my courage, but they do not know my enjoyments. Thou, who shouldst feel them, preserve all their charm by the constancy of thy courage. That amiable Madame Goussard, how surprised I was to see her sweet face, to feel myself clasped in her arms, bedewed with her tears, to see her draw from her bosom two of thy letters. But I was unable to read them in her presence, and I was ungrateful enough to find her visit long. She wished to take back a word from my hand. I found it no easier to write to thee in her presence, and I was almost annoyed at her officious eagerness. . . . Well, we cannot cease to be mutually worthy of the sentiments which have animated us. One is not unfortunate with them. Adieu, *mon ami, mon bien-aimé, adieu!*

3rd July [*St. Pélagie*].

What pleasure unknown to the tyrants whom the vulgar fancy happy in the exercise of their power! And if it is true that a Supreme Intelligence apportions blessings and evils among men according to the laws of strict compensation, can I complain of my misfortune when such delights are reserved to me? I receive your letter of the 27th. I still hear thy courageous voice. I am witness of thy resolutions. I experience the sentiments which animate thee. I pride myself on loving thee and being loved by thee. *Mon ami*, let us not go astray to the length of striking the bosom of our Mother by speaking ill of that virtue which is purchased, it is true, by cruel sacrifices, but who pays them in her turn by compensations of such

¹ Roland was at Rouen, Buzot at Caen.

great price. Tell me, knowest thou a sweeter moment than those passed in the innocence and charm of an affection which Nature avows and which delicacy regulates, which renders homage to the duty of the privations which it imposes, and is nourished by the very strength of supporting them? Knowest thou a greater advantage than that of being superior to adversity and death, and of finding in the heart something to flavour and embellish life to its latest breath? Hast thou ever better experienced it than from the attachment which binds us together in spite of the contradictions of society and the horrors of oppression? As I have told thee, I owe to the latter the enjoyment of my captivity. Proud of being persecuted at a time when character and probity are proscribed, I should even without thee have borne it with dignity; but thou renderest it sweet and dear to me. The wicked think to crush me by putting me in fetters. Fools! what matters it to me whether I reside here or there? Do I not go everywhere with my heart, and to confine me in a prison, is it not to give myself undividedly up to thee? My company is what I love; my study is to think of it. My duties, as soon as I am alone, are limited to good wishes for all that is just and honest, and what I love ever holds the first place in that category. Ah, I feel too well what is imposed on me in the natural course of things to complain of the violence which has diverted it. If I am to die, well, I know what life has of the best, and its duration would only oblige me perhaps to fresh sacrifices. . . . The moment when I was proudest of existing, when I felt most strongly that exultation of mind which braves all dangers and applauds itself for incurring them, was that when I entered the Bastille which the executioners had chosen for me. I will not say that I hastened to meet them, but it is quite true that I did not shun them. I had refrained from considering whether their fury would extend to me. I believed that if it went that length it would give me an opportunity of serving X.¹ by my testimony, my conscience, and my firmness. I thought it delightful to combine the means of being useful to him with a mode of life which left me more to thee. I should like to sacrifice my life for him in order to acquire the right of giving thee alone my latest breath. . . . Poor X. is in a melancholy condition. My second arrest filled him with terror. He sent me from sixty miles off a person whom he commissioned to attempt everything. I urged the imprudence and danger of such attempts. Moreover I will not lend myself to them. . . . May this letter reach thee soon, carry thee a fresh testimony of my unalterable sentiments, communicate

¹ Roland.

to thee the tranquillity which I enjoy, and add to all that is generous and useful which thou mayest feel and carry out the inexpressible charm of affections which the tyrants never know, affections which serve at once as an ordeal and a recompense of virtue, affections which give value to life and render one superior to all ills.

6th July.

I saw yesterday for the second time that excellent V[allée], who handed me thine of the 30th and 1st. I did not open them in his presence. One does not read before a third person, whoever he be, even if he knew what he was bearer of, but his attachment for thee, his devotion to the good cause, his mildness and honesty, made me converse with him a pretty long time with pleasure, although I had thy packet in my pocket, and this is assuredly saying much. My deliverance is infallible through the amelioration of affairs. It is only a question of waiting. This waiting is painful for me, and in truth, with the exception of a few cherished moments, the sweetest time for me for the last six months is that of this retreat. I will not repeat to thee the difficulties and dangers of an attempt [at escape] in the present building, considering its construction and the number of warders. Nothing would deter me if I had to brave them alone to join thee, but to expose our friends and emerge from the chains with which the persecution of the wicked honours me in order to resume others which nobody sees and which cannot fail me, this is in no way urgent. I feel all the generosity of thy care, the purity of thy wishes, but the more I appreciate them the more I love my present captivity. *He* [Roland] is at R[ouen], quite near thee, as thou seest, with old friends and quite unknown, well cared for, as it is quite necessary he should be in order that I may not be uneasy, but in a moral condition so melancholy, so crushing, that I cannot leave this place except to go to his side. I have rejected the proposals of the same kind as thine which he had formed respecting me, and for which there is still in Paris a person whom he sent me. . . . Would they drag me before the revolutionary tribunal? I have calculated even that, and I do not fear it. It would be a fresh school [scandal?] on their part. I should make it turn to the profit of the commonwealth, and it would be very difficult for them to make it result in my ruin. . . . I sent four days ago for *this dear picture*,¹ which from a kind of superstition I did not bring with me to prison; but why then refuse oneself this sweet picture, a slight but precious compensation for the absence of the original? It is

¹ These words are written in English.

on my heart, concealed from all eyes, felt at all moments, often bathed with my tears. Ah! I am imbued with thy courage, honoured by thy attachment, and proud of all that both can inspire in thy proud and feeling heart. I cannot believe that Heaven reserves trials alone for sentiments so pure and so worthy of its favour. This kind of confidence makes one bear life and contemplate death with calmness. Let us enjoy with gratitude the blessings which are given us. Whoever knows how to love like us bears with him the principle of the greatest and best actions, the price of the most painful sacrifice, the compensation for all ills. Adieu, *mon bien-aimé*, adieu!

7th July.

Thou canst not conceive, *mon ami*, the charm of a prison where you are accountable only to your own heart for the employment of every moment. No annoying distraction, no painful sacrifice, no fastidious cares, none of those duties all the more stringent as they are worthy of respect by an upright heart, none of those contradictions of laws or prejudices of society with the sweetest inspirations of nature. No jealous look spies the expression of what you feel, or the occupation which you choose. Nobody suffers from your melancholy or your listlessness, nobody expects from you efforts or requires sentiments which are beyond your power. Given up to yourself, to truth, without having obstacles to vanquish or combats to sustain, you may, without wounding the rights or affections of anybody, abandon your mind to its own rectitude, recover your moral independence amidst an apparent captivity, and exercise it with a plenitude which social relations nearly always disturb. I had not allowed myself even to seek this independence, or thus to extricate myself from the happiness of another which it was so difficult for me to effect. Events have procured me what I should not have obtained without a kind of crime. How I cherish the fetters in which it is free for me to love thee undividedly and to think constantly of thee! Here every other occupation is suspended. I have no longer any obligation but to him who loves me and so well deserves being loved. Pursue thy generous career, serve thy country, save liberty; thy every act is an enjoyment for me, and thy conduct is my triumph. I will not scrutinise the designs of Heaven. I will not allow myself to form culpable wishes, but I thank it for having substituted my present fetters for those which I formerly wore, and this change seems to me a beginning of favour. If it should not accord me more, let it preserve this situation for me

until my complete deliverance from a world given up to injustice and misfortune. I am just interrupted. My faithful maid-servant brings me thy letter of the 3rd. . . . I hasten to despatch this letter. There is always so much delay in reaching its destination. Adieu, *mon ami, mon bien-aimé*. No, this is not an eternal adieu. We are not parted for ever, or destiny would greatly shorten the thread of my days. Ah! take care not to ruin everything by inconsiderate ardour.¹

7th [July], Evening.

Sweet occupation, touching communication of heart and thought, charming abandonment, free expression of unalterable sentiment and of the fugitive idea, fill my solitary hours. You embellish the most melancholy spot, you diffuse in the depth of dungeons the happiness to which the occupant of palaces sometimes vainly aspires. The usual abode of crime has become the refuge of innocence and love. Purified by their presence, it offers, in the narrow limits which hem thee in, only the image of peace, the instruments of study, the affectionate recollections of a loving soul, a pure conscience, the resignation of courage, and the hope of virtue. Oh thou so beloved and so deserving of it, moderate the impatience which makes thee tremble. In thinking of the fetters with which they have loaded me, dost thou not see the blessings which I owe them? . . . Judge with the same impartiality the advantages of a situation which leaves me entirely to myself over that in which sacred and terrible obligations would constrain my faculties and tear my feeble heart. I know what destiny has willed. One would almost say that compassionating my ills, touched by the combats which itself had imposed on me, it prepared the events which were to procure me some respite and make me enjoy repose. It has used the hands of the wicked to bring me into port. It has employed them in doing good against their will, and by unveiling all their perfidy, so as to inspire hatred, the forerunner of their fall, it gives my courage an opportunity of being conducive to the renown of him with whom it had bound me; it yields to my affection the liberty of expanding in silence and unbosoming itself to thee. Oh, *mon ami*, let us bless Providence. It has not rejected us. It will do more perhaps some day. Let us ever, by deserving its blessings, avenge the tardiness which it seems to show in according them. . . . I habitually remain in my cell. It is just big enough to allow of a chair beside the bed. There, at a small table, I read,

¹ This is a warning against a premature and therefore fruitless rising.

draw, and write. It is there that, thy portrait on my breast, or under my eyes, I thank Heaven for having known thee, for having allowed me to enjoy the inexpressible blessing of loving and being loved with that generosity, that delicacy, which vulgar minds will never know, and which are superior to all their pleasures. . . . But dost thou know, thou speakest to me very heedlessly of the sacrifice of thy life, and seemest to have solved it quite independently of me? In what way dost thou wish me to contemplate it? Is it decreed that we cannot deserve each other except by ruining ourselves? And if fate do not allow us soon to meet, must we then renounce all hope of ever being brought together, and see only the tomb, where our elements may mix? Metaphysicians and vulgar lovers talk much of perseverance, but the perseverance of conduct is rarer and more difficult than that of the affections. Assuredly thou art not one to lack anything appertaining to a strong and superior mind. Do not, then, allow thyself to be led by the very excess of courage towards the goal whither despair would also lead thee. . . . Adieu, *mon bien-aimé*.

It would be unfair not to quote Madame Roland's farewell letter to her only child,¹ for it shows that if not an altogether satisfactory wife she was an affectionate mother. On the 10th October 1793, a month before her end, she wrote from St. Pélagie prison :—

I do not know, darling, whether I shall be allowed to see or write to thee again. *Remember thy mother*. These few words contain all the best that I can say to thee. Thou hast seen me happy in the discharge of my duties, and in being useful to those who suffer. This is the only way of being so. Thou hast seen me placid in misfortune and captivity, because I had no remorse, but had the recollection and joy left by good actions. These are the only means of bearing the ills of life and the vicissitudes of fate. Perhaps, and I hope so, thou art not reserved for ordeals like mine, but there are others from which thou wilt nevertheless have to defend thyself. A serious and busy life is the first safeguard from all perils, and necessity as well as wisdom enforces thee to steady work. Be worthy of thy parents. They leave thee great examples, and if thou knowest how to profit by them thou wilt not lead a useless existence. Farewell, dear child, thou whom I suckled, and whom I would fain

¹ Whom the faithful Bosc had, on the day of the mother's arrest, placed under the care of Madame Creuzé La Touche.

imbue with all my sentiments. A time will come when thou wilt be able to appreciate all the effort that I am making at this moment not to be overcome by thy sweet image. I clasp thee to my bosom. Farewell, my Eudora.

Let us now give some specimens of the love or family letters of the aristocracy. On the recapture of Verdun and Longwy in the autumn of 1792, a considerable number of letters addressed from Trèves, Luxembourg, Brussels, and other places to husbands or lovers in the invading army fell into the hands of General Kellerman's vanguard. They were published at Paris in December 1792 by the General Security Committee,¹ and their authenticity was beyond dispute. Those letters which give political or military information, or which speak of pecuniary embarrassments and projects of vengeance on the expected capture of Paris, do not concern us; but there are some classified under the head of "Amour," from which I shall quote some passages. They show, equally with the Villenave and Roland correspondence, the powerful influence of Rousseau. The Convention, with a touch of gallantry which would hardly have been expected, suppressed the names of most of the writers, giving merely those of the intended recipients.

To COMTE DE JARNAC.

AIX, 5th October 1792.

Return promptly, my soul, my life, my happiness. With what pleasure I shall wait on thee! I mean to spoil thee at least an entire month, and make thee forget in my arms all thy sufferings. Take care of thy health. . . . Well, meanwhile let us be content with the illusion. A thousand and thousand of kisses, most beloved of chickens (*poulets*).

This was evidently not written by his wife.

To LOUIS DE LESCALE.

8th October 1792.

Ah, my dearest, what a misfortune to be distant from all that one loves. It would be a great consolation for me to know that thou at least hearest news of me. It is true that this does not

¹ *Correspondance Générale des Émigrés.*

ensure me thy letters, but at least I shall be alone in disquietude, and thou, my beloved, thou wouldst know that we are well. I would give even my last chemise to know as much of thee. It seems to me that we are more unfortunate than ever, but let me see thee again, let us be together, and I shall know how to bear everything. Reassure me, beloved and affectionate *ami*. Live for thyself, live for me, live for our dear children. I adore thee beyond all expression, and deposit here for thee a thousand kisses.

To BARON FLACHSLANDEN.

26th September.

If I saw thy handwriting it would console me, my dearest. What an absence, dearest! How can I bear it? When I see thy letters my blood is revived. What will it be when I clasp thee to my heart? I shall expire in thy arms, my dearest. Hasten to summon me thither. Alas, meanwhile I pass cruel days and still more cruel nights.

To COMTE D'AVARAY.¹

28th September.

I am grieved, my dearest, to know that you are exposed to so many fatigues. That night which you spent in the open air, that wound which you received, has given me as much pain as if I had myself undergone it.

To M. FITZJAMES.²

SPA, 28th September.

I live on news from you. I saw yesterday writing which resembled yours. My heart beat, and I experienced a delightful sensation. . . . I used to think that love was the poison of life, that men had not so much feeling as we [women], and were incapable of a real attachment. Ah! how mistaken I was. There is not a second like thee. . . . How happy am I to be attached to you by the tenderest, the most profound sentiment! Master of my destiny, of my life.

To the MARQUIS D'AUTICHAMP.³

SPA.

Can you maintain this everlasting silence? Have you then no way of mitigating the mischief which you have done to my heart? When men are of this disposition people should be forewarned before getting loved by them.

¹ Head of the military household of "Monsieur" (afterwards Louis XVIII.).

² Afterwards duc de Fitzjames, great-grandson of the duke of Berwick, James II.'s natural son. Apparently written by Mademoiselle de la Touche, whom he afterwards married.

³ Born 1738, died 1831.

To MIGRET.

LUXEMBOURG.

Return, dearest, I beg thee. I await thee. Take a horse. That is better than killing thyself [with fatigue]. I await thee. Adieu, my dearest, do not forsake me. I embrace thee with all my heart.

MADemoisELLE ROSE to M. DE SANCÉ.

LIÈGE, 17th September.

Every fresh day, my dearest friend, is a day of gloom. Where art thou, beloved? For a fortnight I have had no rest. If I fall asleep my sleep is a hundred times more cruel than being awake, and yet I use every means of warding off this restlessness in sleep. . . . Adieu, most adored of lovers. When shall we fly to each other, no more to part?

To BARON DE VINEY.

8th September.

I count on your heart and your delicacy for hoping that you will love me ever, dear Baron. I am in an ecstasy, my heart, when I think of you. My husband embraces you and loves you with all his heart.¹ Your last letter was for me alone, my dearest. Ah, how affectionate it was! I love you, dearest. I love you.

To CHEVALIER DE FRELO.

MAESTRICHT, 7th October

I feel more than ever how I love thee. Be careful of thy health, dearest; it will be the happiness of my life. It is impossible for me to express all that my heart feels for thee. It is sincere. Believe thy Josephine.

To the MARQUIS ST. BLANCARD.

I form plans, and my wishes travel far, I have no power to stop them. I adore thee. It is not in my power to love thee less. It is for eternity, and it will always be with the same sincerity. Thou art all for me, Charles; thou art my life, my happiness, my misfortune. All that is not Charles is indifferent for me, and without thee I am persuaded I should have no sensation. It is thou who animatest me; thou alone art my whole existence. Adieu, dearest; think of my troubles. Keep well, and judge how I await thee.

¹ This sentence was cruelly italicised by the publisher.

[No address, but to the care of the MARQUIS DE VIENNE.]

Thou knowest, child,¹ how dear thou art to me. Oh, thou art everything for me, *mon bon ami, mon tendre ami*, I love thee for life with all my heart. I cannot express, dearest, the pleasure given by the flower which thou hast sent me. I have loaded it with kisses with all my heart. When will it be thyself that I shall embrace as I love thee? Adieu, beloved. I embrace thee with all the strength of my soul. I am thine for life, my affectionate and beloved friend.

To the MARQUIS DE DIGOINE.

20th August.

Adieu, dear. Receive a kiss from thy pussy (*minette*).

COMTESSE DE ROCHEGARDE to HER HUSBAND.

AIX, 20th September.

I can help thee by my prayers and ardent wishes. Never have I prayed with so much fervour. I often implore the Omnipotent Lord and His holy Mother to preserve a life which thou wilt employ with me in sanctifying thy life, in bringing up our children as Christians and in meriting Heaven. I count also on the prayers of those good souls our friends (*amies*). They commend thee specially to the child Jesus, and Mlle. Reinglen, that good young lady, yesterday offered a communion for thee to the Lord. I admire thy confidence in the Mother of Jesus. She will save thee, I am confident. I, like thee, implore her several times [a day].

It is well to close with a letter such as this, which leaves a pleasant taste in the mouth.

Lastly, as a specimen of a paternal letter, let me give one of the numerous charming epistles, by turns serious and playful, admonitory and effusive, addressed by the poet Roucher from St. Pélagie and St. Lazare prisons to his daughter Eulalie, whose pet name was Minette or Pussy. Writing on the 29th November 1793 he says:—

So I have had the pleasure of seeing thee this morning, my daughter. I was fairly satisfied with thy appearance in health. Didst thou feel my kisses, which passed through those ugly bars and tried to reach thee? My dear Minette, oh I well felt thine.

¹ *Enfant*; this must not be taken literally; the relation was not parental.

But how soon thou didst leave! I would fain see you¹ still and tell you what you already know, but what it is a blessing to hear and repeat. I thought thy mamma a little worn. Minette, I commend her to thee. I commit her to thy care. Thou art there to replace me, and I am quite sure thou wilt scrupulously fulfil this duty. All the letters that I have received have given me so satisfactory, so sweet, an account of thee that in thinking of thee I call thee always my Antigone. My eyes are bedewed with tears at that name, and I would not part at any price with the charm which I find connected with it. Sweet child, who makes me love the injustice which imprisons me, inasmuch as it has secured me the rapid development of virtues and qualities in thee. Strengthen thyself day by day in the habit of perfections. Thou wilt be a woman whose mind will be loved by intellectual persons; but what is worth a hundred times more, upright, good, and feeling hearts will find much communion with thine, for such souls love their like. Confess that there are in this mortal life enjoyments which are incomparable. Thou feelest to-day the beauty of those fine verses of the good man in the fable of Philemon and Baucis:—

Ni l'or, ni la grandeur ne nous rendent heureux ;
Ces deux divinités n'accordent à nos vœux, &c.

In our own selves is the source of the purest delights. It is in the testimony of our consciences that we are neither above nor below events, and that our mind has not been taken unprepared by them. . . . Good night, my dearest and affectionate daughter, good night. Thou art doubtless about to go to bed, it is 10 o'clock. Think of me on going to sleep and on awaking. It will only be responding to me.²

¹ *You*, not *thou*, because his wife is included.

² *Consolations de ma Captivité.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH COLONY IN PARIS

James Watt, jun.—British Club—Jackson—Lord E. Fitzgerald—
Frost—Madgett—Maxwell—Merry—Oswald—Stephen Sayre—Sir
R. Smyth—Stone—Yorke

OF the enthusiasts drawn from all parts of the world to Paris by the Revolution, the British visitors, as far as I can judge, exceeded those of any other nationality. It is true that on Cloots's deputation of the 19th June 1790 only four British subjects can be positively traced; but seventeen months later, when the monarchy had disappeared and when war between England and France was becoming imminent, those whom the excesses of the Revolution had not frightened away had a demonstration all to themselves.

I must first speak, however, of an "address of several Englishmen to the National Assembly" presented on the 14th August 1792, which is of interest inasmuch as it was drawn up by James Watt, jun., the son of the great Watt. It was in these terms :—

LEGISLATORS,—We Englishmen at your bar, friends of the French by the ties of brothers and free men, have not seen without the liveliest interest the majority of the people in arms to crush the vestiges of despotism and throw off the yoke of a perfidious Court. Animated by the same sentiments of liberty which arm the hearts of French patriots, we admire their courageous conduct on the ever memorable day of the 10th August. We congratulate them on having crushed all the plots of their internal enemies, and on having overthrown the obstacles in the way of the establishment of a perfect Constitution founded on the sacred principles of equality. But amidst our delight at the triumph of liberty we deplore the premature death of those brave citizens who sacrificed their lives, not

merely for the liberty of their country, but for the defence of the liberties of mankind. Truly touched by the misfortunes of their widows and orphans, we are anxious, legislators of the people, to place in your hands a sum, modest, it is true, but which may relieve their pressing needs.

JAS. GAMBLE. JAMES WATT, jun.
ROBERT RAYMENT. W. ARNVISIDE.¹

A final sentence was erased, which said :—

May this great and terrible event teach the tyrants of the earth to respect the will of the people ; may it teach the nations surrounding you to know and exercise their imprescriptible duties.

Some of Watt's companions had apparently objected to this passage, which obviously advocated a revolution in England. The "modest" gift was 1315 francs. The capture of the almost undefended Tuileries by the mob looks to posterity a much less heroic affair than it seemed at the time to these Englishmen.

Gamble and Rayment will be heard of again presently. Of Arnviside, whose very name seems outlandish, I can learn nothing. Of young Watt I have elsewhere spoken.²

On Sunday, the 18th November 1792, there was a British dinner at White's Hotel, or the Hôtel d'Angleterre, 8 Passage des Petits Pères, to celebrate the victories of the French arms. Both White's and an adjoining house, the Hôtel des Etats-Unis, kept by a tailor named Quénin, were patronised not only by British but by American visitors, for in October 1793, H. W. Livingston and J. Gregorie dated from White's, then re-named Hôtel de Philadelphie, a letter to Robespierre offering to supply American flour.³ We shall presently see that the committee appointed at this dinner numbered fifty, and possibly another fifty were present. French officers and deputies had been invited, among them being General Arthur Dillon, and two military bands played "Ça ira," the "Marseillaise," and the "Carmagnole." The toasts were thirteen in

¹ C. 158.

² "Englishmen in the French Revolution," 1889.

³ *Papiers trouvés chez Robespierre.*

number¹—the French Republic, founded on the rights of man ; the French armies, and the destruction of tyrants and tyranny ; the National Convention ; the coming Convention of England and Ireland ; the union of France, Great Britain, and Belgium, and may neighbouring nations join in the same sentiments ; the Republic of Men, accompanied by an English song to the air of the “Marseillaise,” composed by an English lady ;² the dissolution of the Germanic Circle, and may their inhabitants be free ; abolition of hereditary titles throughout the world (proposed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Sir R. Smyth) ; Lord E. Fitzgerald and Sir R. Smyth ; Thomas Paine, and the new way of making good books known by royal proclamations and by prosecuting the authors in the King’s Bench ; the Women of Great Britain, particularly those who have distinguished themselves by their writings in favour of the French revolution, Mrs. [Charlotte] Smith and Miss H. M. Williams ; the Women of France, especially those who have had the courage to take up arms to defend the cause of liberty, *citoyennes* Fernig, Anselme, &c. ; and Universal Peace, based on universal liberty. The programme must also have included “the Patriots of England, especially those who have distinguished themselves by their writings and speeches in propagating the doctrines of the French revolution, Fox, Sheridan, Cooper, Barlow, Tooke, and Mackintosh” ; but this was evidently objected to and omitted, for when Burke in the House of Commons twitted Fox and Sheridan with having been toasted at this dinner, Sheridan referred him to a letter³ in which Oswald said :—

We did not drink these toasts, nor could we do so without falling into a signal absurdity. Met to celebrate the rapid progress of the eternal principles of liberty and equality, how could we think of cringing to the heads or tools of any party? How could we pronounce the names of Fox, Sheridan, and Mackintosh?

But what interests us more than the toasts was the

¹ *Patriote Français*, November 21, 1792.

² Probably Helen Williams.

³ *Patriote Français*, November 26.

adoption of an address to the Convention. It was in these terms¹ :—

Address of the English, Scotch, and Irish resident and domiciled in Paris.

CITIZEN LEGISLATORS,—The British and Irish citizens now in Paris, animated by the sentiment of liberty which your principles have imparted to the French republic, assembled on Sunday, 18th November, to celebrate the brilliant successes of your arms, and were unanimously of opinion that it was their duty to offer to the representatives of so great a nation the tribute of their congratulations on events which essentially interest all peoples who aspire to be free. Receive, then, citizen legislators, this pure and fraternal homage of men who have ever applauded the sacred principles upon which you have sworn to base the new government which you are about to give to your country. Hitherto wars have been undertaken only to satiate the vilest passions; they have consequently been conducted only by the most iniquitous methods. You have taken up arms solely to make reason and truth triumph. It doubtless appertained to the French nation to enfranchise Europe, and we rejoice to see it fulfilling its great destinies. Let us hope that the victorious troops of liberty will lay down their arms only when there are no more tyrants or slaves. Of all these pretended governments, works of the fraud of priests and coalesced tyrants, there will soon remain only a shameful memory. Peoples enlightened by your example will blush to have bowed servile heads so long under a yoke debasing for human nature.

Our good wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to see the happy moment of this great change, in the hope that it will no sooner arrive than we shall see the formation of a close union between the French republic and the English, Scotch, and Irish nations, a union which cannot fail to ensure entire Europe the enjoyment of the rights of man and establish on the firmest bases universal peace. We are not the only men animated by these sentiments. We doubt not that they would be also manifested by the

¹ C. 242. The address, apparently in Stone's writing, fills a page and a half of a sheet of foolscap, the ink now much faded. The signatures from Tweddell to Rayment occupy in two columns the rest of the second page, the remaining names being written on the other half of the sheet in a single column, and the president and secretary signing at the top of a second column. Stone and O'Reilly, it will be observed, inadvertently sign twice over. The version of the address given in the *Moniteur* contains some slight inaccuracies.

great majority of our countrymen if public opinion were consulted, as it ought to be, in a national convention.

As for us, who are at present making Paris our residence, we gladly embrace this opportunity of declaring that in the whole course of the Revolution, and notwithstanding the abrupt departure of our ambassador, we have constantly experienced on the part of the French nation sentiments of the frankest cordiality and sincerest friendship.

Paris, 24th November 1792, first year of the French republic. Signed by us, members of the committee nominated for that purpose.

FRANCIS TWEDDELL.	THOS. MACDERMOTT.
MATTHEW BELLEWES.	WILLIAM RICKETTS.
JOHN FROST.	ROBERT RAYMENT.
RICHARD JOYCE.	WILLIAM FRANCIS JACKSON.
JOSEPH GREEN.	ROBERT MERRY.
J. SKILL.	ROBERT MAY O'REILLY.
J. USHER QUATERMAN.	J. E. MACDONNEL.
DAVID GIBSON.	WILLIAM WATTS.
THOMAS ARMFIELD.	THOMAS MARSHALL.
EDWARD FITZGERALD.	JOHN OSWALD.
WILLIAM DUCKETT.	JOHN WALKER, sen.
J. O'NEILL.	THOMAS POTIER.
EDWARD FERRIS.	L. MASQUERIER.
B. MURRAY.	R. SMYTH.
J. H. STONE, President.	N. HICKSON.
JOSEPH WEBB.	T. J. GASTINEAU.
WILLIAM NEWTON.	STEPHEN SAYRE.
J. TICKELL.	HENRY SHEARES.
HAROLD MOWATT.	JOHN SHEARES.
PEARCE LOWER.	ROSE.
BERNARD MACSHEEHY.	JOHN BRADLEY.
JEREMIE CURTAYN.	WILLIAM MAXWELL.
WILLIAM CHOPPIN.	B. BULMER.
WILLIAM WARDELL.	CÆSAR COLCLOUGH.
N. MADGETT.	J. H. STONE, President.
JAMES GAMBLE.	ROBERT M. O'REILLY, Secretary. ¹

(Wait for the President's reply.)

¹ David Williams, the Unitarian minister, the friend of Condorcet and Madame Roland, was in Paris at this time, and till the 1st February 1793, but apparently kept away from the dinner as being too Jacobinical in tone.

The address was not presented till the 28th. This delay may be attributed to a resolution to wait for the arrival of Joel Barlow and John Frost,¹ who on 9th November had been deputed by the London Society for the Diffusion of Constitutional Information to take over another address. They wrote on the 27th from White's Hotel to the president of the Convention, asking that a day might be arranged for receiving them. The following day at noon was fixed. Both addresses were accordingly presented on the 28th. First came Stone and the forty-nine other members of the White's Hotel committee. Thomas Paine had doubtless been at the meeting, for we have seen that his health was drunk, but himself sitting in the Convention, he obviously could not sign an address to that body.

The address from London was doubtless read by Barlow. The version published by the *Moniteur* (29th November 1792) contains numerous inaccuracies, but without detailing these it is enough to say that the society had subscribed a thousand pounds to buy shoes for the French soldiers, and promised to send a thousand weekly for at least six weeks till the money was exhausted.

Before seeing what became of the memorialists let us note the history of these gatherings at White's. The chief authority is Captain George Monro, who, on the withdrawal of the British embassy in August 1792, had been left in Paris to send information to his government. "I have sent a very good man," wrote Bland Burges to Lord Auckland on 17th August 1792, "to look about him in Paris after they [Lord Gower and Lindsay] come away, and who will let us know from day to day what passes."² It was evidently part of Monro's duty to keep an eye on British visitors, and, if this made him virtually a spy, it was natural that the English authorities should desire to be posted up in the movements of men, some of whom, as he wrote, were "ready to put anything in

¹ A blank must have been left for Frost's signature.

² Auckland's "Journals."

execution that would injure their country, let the measure be never so desperate." The better, therefore, to discharge his duty, Monro actually went to lodge at White's. He was doubtless present at the dinner of 28th November, and he forwarded to the Foreign Office a copy of the address to the Convention, but without the signatures. On 17th December he reported that the "party of conspirators" had "formed themselves into a society." We know from the *Moniteur* (xv. 58) that on 5th January they gave formal notice of the formation of the society, which was to meet twice a week. A meeting had been held on 16th December, when the president of the Mail section delivered a speech, a copy of which was forwarded to the Foreign Office by Monro. Merry was president, and a Dr. Edwards had arrived to join Maxwell; but Paine was then staying in the provinces, "ill or pretending to be so," Stone had returned to England, and Frost had removed to cheaper lodgings. On 27th December Monro reports that many of the party had become friends of royalty, though there were still many "who would stand at nothing to ruin their country." Four days later he describes the remnant as "beneath the notice of any one, struggling for consequence among themselves, jealous of one another, differing in opinion, and even insignificant in a body." With few exceptions they were "heartily tired of politics and addresses. Tom Paine's fate [outlawry] and the unanimity of the English has staggered the boldest of them, and they are now dwindling into nothing." On 11th January 1793 another address was advocated by Paine and Merry, but was so warmly opposed by Frost and Macdonald (Macdonnel) that "the dispute nearly ended in blows. I cannot tell how it ended, as things are kept very secret."¹ Henry Redhead Yorke tells us the particulars. The address invited the Convention to liberate enslaved England. He opposed it, and "we carried it"—that is to say, the address was rejected—"by a majority of one." It was, however, again brought forward, whereupon

¹ O. Browning, "Despatches of Earl Gower."

Yorke and Johnson drew up a remonstrance and seceded. This second address was presented to the Convention on 22nd January, but I have not found it in the National Archives.

I have, however, found at the British Museum, in a collection of "Political Broad-sides," a copy of a placard which was posted on London dead-walls. It read thus :—

*Friends of the Rights of Man associated at Paris, December 4,
first year of the French Republic.*

We whose names are subscribed to this declaration, for the greater part natives of Great Britain and Ireland, and now resident in Paris, sensible of the duties we owe to our countrymen, as well as to the general cause of liberty and happiness through the world, have formed ourselves into a society for the express purpose of collecting political information and extending it to the people at large in the several nations to which we belong.

We are happy that our temporary residence in this enlightened and regenerated capital enables us to become the organ of communicating knowledge on the most interesting subjects, of administering to the moral improvement and social happiness of a considerable portion of our fellow-men, and of undeceiving the mind of our countrymen, abused by the wretched calumnies of a wicked Administration who, in order to perpetuate the slavery of the English, have made it their business to stigmatise the glorious exertions of the French.

We begin with an open and unequivocal declaration of the principles which animate our conduct, and precise definition of the object we mean to pursue, that no individual in any country may mistake our motives or be ignorant in what manner to address us. We declare that an equal Government, un-mixed with any kind of exclusive privileges, conducted by the whole body of the people or by their agents, chosen at frequent periods and subject to their recall, is the only Government proper for man; that the British and Irish nations do not enjoy such a Government; that they cannot obtain it until a National Convention be chosen and assembled to lay its foundations on the basis of the Rights of Man; that to effect this great and indispensable object we will use all the means which reason, argument, and the communication of information can supply; that we will endeavour to remove all national

prejudices which it has been the interest of tyrants to excite in order to separate and enslave the great family of Man; that we invite individuals and societies of every name and description in the above nations and elsewhere to a manly and unreserved correspondence with our society; and we pledge ourselves to them and to the universe that no composition or sacrifice extorted from the fears of expiring Oppression shall seduce or deter us from persevering with firmness and constancy in the discharge of the important duty we have undertaken.

Here follow the signatures.

These, unfortunately, are not given.

A London bookseller named Thompson arrived about this time, and denounced Monro as a spy who "had joined the society to find out what they were doing." Monro's despatches cease in February 1793, and he then returned to England, his place being taken by one Somers, who, until the end of February, wrote letters to Monro and Bland Burges, using mercantile terms to disguise political news. Monro is said, indeed, to have been arrested, and to have owed his release to Paine,¹ but his apprehension was not ordered by the Committee of General Security till 9th May 1793,² and the search which was then to be made for him at the Café Anglais, Palais Royal, was evidently ineffectual. One of Monro's latest items of information was the arrival of Sampson Perry, of whom we shall hear more in connection with Choppin.

The club was dissolved after a warm discussion in February 1793, but some further light is thrown on the English gatherings at White's by a long denunciation made to the Place Vendôme section on 8th March 1794 by Arthur, a member of the Commune, of English extraction, who seems to have made it his business to play the spy on British residents. Arthur depicted Stone as a man pretending sympathy with the Revolution, but intimate with Brissot and Pétion, and especially with General Miranda. He was also intimate with Milnes, whom the intercepted

¹ Conway's "Life of Paine."

² A.F. ii.* 288.

Lille letters had shown to be an agent of Pitt.¹ Stone was also intimate with Robert Smith [Sir Robert Smyth], now arrested. Milnes gave dinners and balls nearly all the week at White's, a kind of English tavern in the Passage des Petits Pères, now called Hôtel Philadelphie. At one of these orgies [*sic*] a dispute arose between Thomas Paine and another Englishman, who struck Paine in the face, but after escaping and being for some time in concealment had become reconciled with Paine. Stone kept his carriage before the Revolution, but had now opened a printing office, and had claimed his wife's release, as being himself a compositor (artisans were exempt from arrest). Stone, however, was about to divorce her, and doubtless intended to marry again. She had brought him £600 or £800. Gamble, the engraver, was co-proprietor with White, having been surety for him.²

The Place Vendôme section committee not only entered this long statement, which I have summarised, on its minutes, but ordered a copy to be sent to the General Security Committee. It is obviously a mixture of fact and fiction. Paine's assailant was Captain John Grimston, R.A., for Sherwin in his "Life of Paine" states that Grimston, at an hotel dinner, struck Paine, and might have been

¹ Here Arthur seems to have confused William Miles, who had been in Paris in 1791, and in 1793 had received a pension of £300 for his quasi-diplomatic services, with James Milne, or Mylne, an English mechanic, who, prior to the Revolution, had introduced spinning and carding machines, and had received a pension of 300 francs. That pension was confirmed by the Assembly in August 1791, and in the previous May it had ordered a competitive trial between his spinning machine and that of a fellow Englishman, Philemon Pickford. The latter received 3000 francs for erecting his machine in a room at the Paris hospital. Milne died at Paris in 1804, his sons continuing the business. He seems to have been allowed a building at the royal shooting-box of La Muette for his factory, for on 20th February 1793 he addressed a complaint respecting this to the Convention, which, however, declined to consider it. He had probably been ousted from La Muette. The Lille letters, which really seem to have been the lost property of an English spy, said: "Milne's plans are approved of by Pitt, but his late fever will keep him in England some time longer." This possibly refers to William Miles, whose *Memoirs* were published in 1891. There was, however, a Captain Miles, a member of the Constitutional Information Society, who may have visited Paris.

² F. 7, 2475, p. 137.

punished with death, but that Paine procured him a passport and paid for his journey back to England. These last details require confirmation, but we see that the quarrel was made up, and the records of the General Security Committee show that Grimston, who was living with a Captain Bingham at St. Germain, was summoned to appear before it on 9th May 1793, and on the 16th was ordered to quit Paris within seven and France within fourteen days. He was to have a passport for any destination he might choose.¹ Some of Arthur's gossip was thus ten months old. The hotel-keeper White was arrested on 9th May 1793,² probably on account of the Grimston affair. A Christopher White, manufacturer, aged 20, imprisoned from October 1793 to November 1794, may have been his son, and Anna Gray, wife of White, aged 43, incarcerated during the same period with her two daughters, aged 16 and 14, was probably the hotel-keeper's wife.

In tracing the antecedents and subsequent careers of the members of the deputation the alphabetical order will be most convenient, for the signatures to the address show no arrangement of any kind; but I may make an exception for two men, so well known that little need be said of them—William Francis Jackson and Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Monroe, strangely enough, does not mention Jackson, whose name heads the second page of signatures, yet he can scarcely have been any other than the Rev. William Jackson, ex-factotum to the notorious Duchess of Kingston, who, originally clerk at a Moravian chapel in London,³ went to Oxford, but did not graduate, was curate at St. Mary-le-Strand, wrote for or edited the *Public Ledger*, *Morning Post*, and *Whitehall Evening Post*, and was a prisoner for debt in the King's Bench. It is true that this Jackson is nowhere credited with a second Christian name, but there can scarcely have been two William Jacksons in Paris, both Jacobins to boot. He must also have been the Jackson who, along with a Frenchman named Garnier, had on 11th May 1792 submitted to the Assembly a scheme for obtaining

¹ A.F. ii.* 288.

² Ibid.

³ Andrews, "History of British Journalism."

news in twenty-four hours from the most distant frontier. This apparently anticipated Chappe's invention of semaphore signals, but the Assembly declined to entertain it. In August 1793 he obtained exemption from the general arrest of British subjects, as being in the employ of the French government. Jackson's mission to Ireland in 1795, his misplaced confidence in Cockayne, a London attorney, his conviction, and his suicide in the dock at Dublin to save his family¹ from the confiscation of his small property, are well known.² His acquaintance with Paine at White's Hotel lends additional pathos to the employment of his prison hours in writing an answer to the "Age of Reason." Paine, indeed, had then told him that he was writing a book against all revealed religion as nothing but nonsense and imposture.

It is needless to summarise the career of so well-known a man as Lord Edward Fitzgerald. It is enough to speak of his brief visit to Paris. He arrived on 26th October 1792, and gave his address as *le citoyen Edouard Fitzgerald, Hôtel de White, Passage des Petits Pères, près du Palais Royal*. "I lodge," he wrote to his mother, the Duchess of Leinster, "with my friend Paine; we breakfast, dine, and sup together. . . . I pass my time very quietly; read, walk, and go quietly to the play. . . . I go a good deal to the Assembly." A subsequent letter, undated, says, "I dine to-day with Madame Sillery." According to the latter, better known as Madame de Genlis, Fitzgerald, at a performance of Kreutzer's Italian opera "*Lodoiska*," was struck by a face closely resembling that of Sheridan's recently deceased wife, of whom he had been enamoured. He found that this was the famous Pamela, the reputed daughter of the Duke of Orleans and Madame de Genlis, but more probably, as has been ascertained of late years, the offspring of a Newfoundland fisherman's daughter

¹ Whom he had apparently left behind in Paris, for he handed a letter to his counsel MacNally (secretly in the pay of the British Government), in which he besought friends in Paris to succour his wife, child, and an unborn infant.

² See "Dictionary of National Biography," xxix. 110, 111; and Fitzpatrick's "Secret Service under Pitt."

named Sims.¹ He got Stone, who was also at the theatre, to introduce him to her. Now "Lodoiska," which was brought out in 1791, had had a run of more than fifty nights, was revived on 1st November 1792, and was repeated on 20th December. If Madame de Genlis' account is to be relied on, Fitzgerald's introduction to Pamela must have taken place on 1st November. But this would not agree with her statement that on her leaving Paris with Pamela for Tournay, two or three days afterwards, he joined them at the first post, that they reached Tournay in the beginning of December, and that three weeks after he married Pamela. Madame de Genlis' stay in Paris was extremely short, for she was liable to arrest as an *émigrée*. She could not have been there on 1st November. "Lodoiska," therefore, could not have been the piece at which the introduction occurred. This is not a material point. Madame de Genlis is less excusably inaccurate when she asserts that she would not give Fitzgerald her adoptive daughter's hand till he had obtained his mother's consent, that he accordingly went over to England to secure this, and that he returned in a few days. Fitzgerald's letter to his mother, written on arriving in London with his bride on 2nd January 1793, implies that the duchess's consent, or rather recognition, had only that day been given. It is clear that Fitzgerald had not gone to London to obtain her previous consent, but had married on 27th December either without asking consent or without waiting for the answer.² As to the British dinner, the London newspapers represented Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Sir Robert Smyth as having there renounced their titles in conformity with the toast for the abolition of all hereditary titles. This led to Fitzgerald being cashiered from the army.

Of Thomas Armfield,³ Matthew Bellewes, B. Bulmer,

¹ "Dictionary of National Biography," xix. 142, 143; *Academy*, 1892.

² The duc de Chartres, the future King Louis-Philippe, was present, and signed the register.

³ A Sophia Armfield, buried at Montmartre cemetery in 1810, at the age of 92, had apparently a brother, for she is described as a "dutiful daughter, good sister, and sincere friend."

and John Bradley nothing is known. Bulmer may have been the father of a well-known printer, William Bulmer, or the Blackett Bulmer imprisoned at Arras. I pass on to William Choppin, who became curiously mixed up in the trial of Marat. Born in 1764, full of enthusiasm for the Revolution, and a member of the London Constitutional Information Society, he seems to have migrated with Paine from White's Hotel to lodgings in the faubourg St. Denis. There, at any rate, they were fellow-lodgers in April 1793, together with Johnson, a young surgeon from Derby, who had accompanied Redhead Yorke to Paris. Johnson stabbed himself twice with a knife, and announced to Choppin from the top of the stairs that he had killed himself. As though dying, he gave Paine his watch and drew up a will dividing his personal effects between Paine and Choppin. This will contained the following passage: "I came to France to enjoy liberty, but Marat has murdered it. I cannot endure the grievous spectacle of the triumph of imbecility and inhumanity over talent and virtue." Paine, moreover, gave Brissot, for publication in his *Patriote Français*, a paragraph drawn up by Johnson himself to the effect that an Englishman, abjuring his country from detestation of kings, but heartbroken to find in France the hideous mask of anarchy, had resolved on suicide, and before dying had written these words. Johnson was really alive and well, and is said to have been annoyed at the appearance of the paragraph, but he had himself indited it and had begun the mystification.¹ Marat's trial came on just at this time, and the perfectly irrelevant question of this sham suicide was dragged into it. Paine, Choppin, Johnson, and Sampson Perry were called as witnesses.² Perry, in an unpublished letter to a Madame Lavit,³ might well say: "On the whole it is a

¹ Johnson's own account was that he was excited by the fear that Paine would lose his life for his vote in favour of Louis XVI.

² *Moniteur*, 3rd May, 1793; *Arch. Nat.*, W. 269. Paine, unlike his three fellow-countrymen, had to be examined through two interpreters, and knowing, perhaps, that he would be a witness, he had not voted in the Convention on the prosecution of Marat.

³ W. 269.

mysterious affair, and ought to be cleared up. Some people regard it as a farce, others as a tragedy." Choppin and Johnson left Paris for Switzerland in November 1793, just in time to escape detention.¹ Yorke, "from motives of personal delicacy," refrained from publishing Paine's account of the episode, which he had been allowed to copy from Paine's essay, "Forgetfulness," an essay which was never published, and the manuscript of which has disappeared. We only know from the passages given by Yorke that Johnson and Choppin were arrested in the autumn of 1793, when all Englishmen were seized as hostages for Toulon, but were released on a certificate from Paine. Sanson, the executioner, called on Paine on this occasion.² A guard went subsequently to rearrest them, but they had fortunately left two days before for Switzerland.³ They wrote from Bâle to Paine, as he informed Lady Smyth, "highly pleased with their escape from France, into which they had entered with an enthusiasm of patriotic devotion." Choppin in 1787 had presented Rickman with a silver pen, inscribed, "In the just cause only," and in 1803, when living in London, he subscribed to Rickman's poems. Johnson, a resident at Kensington, was also a subscriber.

Cæsar Colclough, eldest son of Vesey Colclough, of Tintern abbey, county Wexford (commonly called Sir Vesey, as heir male of the last baronet, though the title did not descend to him), was born in 1766. His mother was Catherine, daughter of John Grogan, of Johnstown, Wexford. Vesey was high sheriff of Wexford in 1767, and M.P. for that county from 1769 till his death in 1794. Cæsar was imprisoned at Paris with the other British subjects. He amused himself with carpentry, and taking back that taste with him to Ireland on his release, he made a part of Tintern abbey his workshop. Many of his tools remained there long after his death. During his residence in France his younger brother John represented Wexford, and in 1807 stood for re-election, nominating Sheridan as his

¹ Conway, "Life of Paine."

² See p. 37.

³ Conway's "Writings of Paine," iii. 318.

colleague, in opposition to the other outgoing member, William Congreve Alcock. On the morning of the election there was a duel between Colclough and Alcock, in which the former was killed. Alcock, who was elected, was put on trial, but was acquitted. The legend runs that remorse made him insane,¹ but he did not become insane till November 1809, and in April 1811 some electors petitioned the House of Commons to declare the seat vacant. There was, however, no precedent for such exclusion since 1560, and no new writ was issued till the dissolution in 1812. This tragic event probably led to or hastened Cæsar's return to look after the embarrassed estate left by his extravagant brother. In 1818 he became himself M.P. for Wexford, and in the same year married Jane Stratford, daughter of John Kirwan, barrister. He died at Cheltenham in 1842, leaving no issue. He was buried at Tintern abbey, and his widow erected a monument to his memory in Tintern parish church.² The estate then devolved on Mary Grey Wentworth, daughter of another Cæsar Colclough, chief justice of Newfoundland; she married in 1848 John Thomas Rossborough, who took the name of Colclough.

Passing over Jeremie Curtayn, we come to William Duckett, who, born at Killarney in 1768, was educated at the Irish college, gained a scholarship at St. Barbe college, and returning to Ireland wrote flaming articles in the *Northern Star*, under the signature of Junius Redivivus, till prudence dictated, in or before 1796, a flight back to Paris. There he was busy in inciting a French landing in Ireland, but Tone had an invincible distrust of him, and prevented his embarking in Hoche's expedition, though he went as far as Rennes for that purpose. Tone thus rendered Duckett an unconscious service. In 1797 he was secretary to Leonard Bourdon, ex-schoolmaster and Jacobin deputy. In 1798 Duckett was reported to Castlereagh as at Hamburg

¹ Barrington, "Personal Sketches."

² Information kindly furnished by Mrs. Biddulph Colclough, of Tintern abbey.

and as entrusted with money for procuring a mutiny in the English fleet or for burning English dockyards. He was consequently scheduled in the Irish Outlawry Act. Returning to Paris with a Danish wife about 1803, he became a professor at his resuscitated college of St. Barbe, and Duruzoir, a pupil, speaks admiringly of his wonderful memory, his classical attainments—Horace was his favourite author—and his lectures on Shakespeare and Milton. He also wrote verses on topics of the day, and compiled an English grammar for French students. He died in 1841.¹

Edward Ferris may have been the disbarred attorney and informer against the United Irishmen who received frequent payments out of secret service money.² He may also have been related to Richard Ferris, of the Irish college, Paris, seminarist, priest, soldier, and married man, whose singular career ended in 1828.³ But this is mere conjecture.

John Frost, a native of Winchester, brought up as a solicitor, and described as "an attorney of electioneering memory," became in 1782, at the age of thirty-two, a member of the Thatched House tavern society in London, a body advocating parliamentary reform. In 1792 he is said to have sheltered political offenders. He accompanied Paine to Paris in September 1792, when both were rudely searched at Dover.⁴ One of the founders and the secretary of the Corresponding Society, he paid Barlow's expenses to Paris, as well as his own, on their being deputed to present the address. Burke denounced him as an ambassador to Louis XVI.'s murderers. Stone, in a letter of 26th November to his brother William, produced at the trial of the latter, mentioned Frost's arrival. Monro on 17th December 1793 writes :—

Mr. Frost has left this house [White's], and seldom makes his appearance. He is, however, one of the society. He appears, however, a good deal alarmed at his situation, as he told me a reward was offered for apprehending him.

¹ "Dict. of National Biography," xvi. 92.

² Fitzpatrick's "Secret Service under Pitt."

³ See my "Englishmen in the French Revolution," p. 167.

⁴ "Dropmore MSS." (Hist. MSS. Commission), ii. 316.

Before leaving London with the address, Frost, at the Percy coffee-house, had declaimed in favour of equality and against monarchy. A man named Butler took him by the nose and kicked him out. As Frost had been dining and was "probably drunk,"¹ this would seem to have been sufficient punishment; but on his return to London in February 1793 he was arrested for seditious talk, was ineffectually defended by Erskine, and was sentenced on the 19th June to six months' imprisonment, with exposure in the pillory at Charing Cross. A placard issued by his sympathisers announced the ceremony :—

Dec. 5, 1793.

This day at 12 o'clock John Frost is to stand on the pillory at Charing Cross for supporting the rights of the people.

The exhibition seems to have been postponed, for a second placard, dated December 18, says :—

This day at 11 o'clock John Frost is to stand on the pillory at Charing Cross, living or dead.

He was also struck off the roll of attorneys, and required on the expiration of his sentence to give sureties for five years for good behaviour. On his release the mob unharnessed the horses of his carriage and dragged him in triumph to Thelwall's house. In 1794 the report of the parliamentary committee on sedition referred to his French mission, and he was imprisoned in the Tower with Horne Tooke and other members of the Corresponding Society,² but the prosecution against him was abandoned on the acquittal of the first batch of prisoners. In 1802 he was an unsuccessful candidate for East Grinstead. In 1813 he received a royal pardon, and applied for reinstatement on the roll of attorneys, but this the King's Bench refused. Tranquil for the rest of his long life, Frost expired in 1842 at Holly Lodge, near Lymington. Dr. S. R. Gardiner, the historian, remembered him there as a very old man, living with an elderly daughter and a little granddaughter. He

¹ "Dropmore MSS.," ii. 340.

² See Tooke's Diary, "Notes and Queries," January and February 1897.

had taken the name of Russell, to keep his past out of sight. His Chartist namesake of 1839 was not his kinsman.

James Gamble was a paper-maker and engraver, and occupied part of the premises of Arthur and Robert, at the boulevard corner of the rue Louis-le-Grand, or rue des Piques. We have seen how treacherously Arthur profited by the intimacy thus established. An English clergyman (William Jackson ?) who advertised lessons in English in 1791, gave Gamble as a referee. Maria Gamble, governess to the children of Jules Didot, the printer, and eventually Didot's second wife, was probably his sister. A Paris newspaper of 1790 described Gamble as the inventor of coloured prints. On 22nd May of the previous year he had been licensed to publish a collection of engravings.¹ Later on, with a partner named Coypel or Coipel, he published revolutionary scenes and allegories, and on 18th January 1795 they presented to the Convention a sketch of Brutus condemning his son to death. They asked permission to buy a sheet of copper from the State in order to engrave it. The application was referred to the Education committee.² In 1798 a valuable timepiece was stolen from Gamble's house at Passy. After this nothing more is heard of him, but in 1801 and 1803 a John Gamble of Leicester Square, London, perhaps a brother of James, took out patents for "making paper in a continuous sheet."

I pass over Gastineau, Gibson,³ Green, a member of the Constitutional Information Society, Hickson, Joyce, and Lower, except to say that Nicholas Hickson, a teacher of languages, was imprisoned at the Scotch college and the Luxembourg from October 1793 to November 1795; and that Joyce was probably, to judge from their common sympathy with the Revolution, one of the brothers of Jeremiah Joyce, the Unitarian minister and schoolbook compiler prosecuted for treason in 1794. Nicholas Joyce, a cotton-spinner, who died a prisoner at the Benedictine convent in February 1794, may have been another brother.

¹ Tuetey, *Répertoire Hist. Paris*, ii. 376. ² *Procès-Verbaux de la Convention*.

³ There was a Gibson in business in Paris in 1798.

Thomas MacDermott was probably the Irish militia colonel who was arrested by the Temple section on 4th May 1794. There was, however, another Thomas MacDermott, an Irish priest, who had been chaplain to the French embassy at London. This MacDermott was arrested at Nancy in June 1793, and sent a protest to the Convention.¹ Among his papers² was a draft letter to his brother, a Dublin lawyer, asking him, as his heir, to provide for one Margaret Noel in return for her services to himself. He seems to have kept a school in Paris in 1800.

Of Macdonnel, who, like Frost, opposed the second address to the Convention, all we know is that, according to Monro, he wrote for the *Morning Post*.

Bernard MacSheehy, probably a nephew of John Baptist MacSheehy, court physician, was born in Ireland on 2nd December 1774. He was in 1793 a student at the Irish college. Arrested in September of that year, he offered to join the French army. On 4th May 1794 the Public Safety Committee appointed him an interpreter on the staff of General Félix for the projected expedition to the East Indies. In 1796, being on Hoche's staff, he was sent to Ireland to ascertain the probabilities of a rising.³ Lewis and Reilly accompanied him as far as London. On 17th March 1798 he was appointed on the staff of the *armée d'Angleterre*, and in 1803 he was commissioned to organise the Irish legion at Brest, but Miles Byrne, who served under him, describes him as "capricious, passionate, and vindictive." After a duel with a fellow-officer in 1804 he was transferred to a French regiment, and on 8th February 1807 MacSheehy, who had risen to be general, lost his life in the battle of Eylau.⁴ John Bernard MacSheehy, who entered the French army in 1802, and in 1817 was on half-pay, was perhaps his nephew.

Nicholas Madgett, born at Kinsale in 1767, had probably been a student at the Irish college. He held a benefice near Bordeaux, but from 1784 to 1788 he was

¹ A. F. iii. 57.

² T. 1651.

³ A. F. iii. 186 B.

⁴ *Archives du Dépôt de la Guerre*.

chaplain to James Fanning, an Irishman who had purchased the château of Roche-Talbot, near Sablé.¹ In May 1795 he revisited France, landing with a passport under the name of Hurst. He was consequently, as a suspected spy, imprisoned for six months. He was intimate with Tone, and when the expedition to Ireland was being prepared was despatched to Orleans to prevail on Irish prisoners there to join it. This caused a quarrel between the English and the Irish prisoners, and the transfer of the English to Valenciennes. Madgett in 1796 advertised himself as a teacher of languages and mathematics. He was employed by the Directory in drawing up reports on English matters, and in translating from English newspapers.² In the "Castle-reagh Memoirs" he is described, under date 1798, as having spent forty of his sixty years in France, and as intimate with Thomas Muir, the Scottish refugee. He suggested the seizure in the Bank of Venice of £10,000,000, belonging, as he said, to George III., and this suggestion was transmitted by the Directory to Bonaparte, who, however, found no such deposit. In 1811 he is described in the Paris Directory as interpreter to the Ministry of Marine.

Thomas Marshall, born in 1755, a native of Benthams, Yorkshire, was apparently in business in Paris, for in 1795 he obtained from the Public Safety Committee a passport available for three months for Denmark for private affairs. He seems to have been intimate with Rayment, for on 8th September 1793 they presented a joint memorial to the Convention respecting a contemplated loan by the Observatory section for the equipment of soldiers for Vendée. The memorial was referred to the Finance committee.

Louis Masquerier, a descendant from Huguenot refugees, was a goldsmith in Coventry Street, London, who had become bankrupt in 1777, and had since 1789 been dependent on his wife and daughter, who taught English in Paris. This is all we know of him, but of his third and youngest son, John James, the portrait painter, much might

¹ Beauchesne, *Château de Roche-Talbot*.

² A. F. iii. 57-58.

be said. The boy had accompanied his mother and sister to Paris, and at the age of fourteen was studying art under François André Vincent at the Royal Academy when, on 10th August 1792, the master dismissed his pupils, saying, "This is no place for you." Young Masquerier on his way home saw a soldier shot just in front of him, and had to leap over the dead body. In the autumn of 1793 he obtained a passport for England, but his father was arrested, apparently dying in prison, while his mother and sister were imprisoned at the Luxembourg from 10th October 1793 to 26th October 1794, and on their release resumed teaching. In 1800 he revisited Paris, was enabled through Madame Tallien to sketch Napoleon unobserved from a closet, and, using this sketch for a picture of him reviewing the Consular Guard, made £1000 by the exhibition of it in London. In 1814 he fetched his mother and sister back to England, and in 1850, in company with Crabb Robinson, he once more saw Paris. Five years later he died.¹ "More a Frenchman in speech and intimate knowledge of the country than any other friend of mine," says Robinson, while the poet Campbell describes him as "a pleasant little fellow with French vivacity."

William Maxwell was a doctor, but I can discover nothing of his parentage or early life. He may have been the William Maxwell of Carriden, Linlithgowshire, born in 1766, who entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1781 and graduated M.A. in 1791. On 12th September 1792 he convened by advertisement a meeting at his house in Portland Street, London, to open a subscription for presenting arms to the French, but four hours before the time appointed the colonel Glover notorious in connection with the duchess of Kingston went to him and frightened him into abandoning the plan, removing his door-plate, and absenting himself. Glover posted himself in the house opposite to see what would ensue. Horne Tooke was one of the arrivals, and after obliging Glover to decamp he conducted the people to his own house in Soho Square, where

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1855.

the meeting was held and the subscription opened. "Maxwell's courage was unequal to the occasion," said Oswald at the Jacobin club on the 30th, in relating, on the authority of Paine and Frost, what had passed.¹ Maxwell, as we have seen, went over to Paris, and, according to Monro, joined the French army in December 1792. He was in Louis XVI.'s escort to the scaffold, and gave a minute account of the execution to Oelsner, a German. Though devoid of sympathy for the King, he was amazed at the composure with which Louis entered the carriage, as if for an ordinary drive, gazed at the objects which he passed, and helped the executioner to remove his overcoat and jacket, for which a kind of blouse, almost pinioning his arms, was substituted. In 1804 a Dr. Joseph William Maxwell, probably the same man, obtained a passport for Amsterdam.

Of Robert Merry, versifier, dramatist, Dellacruscan, and friend of Godwin, who visited him in Norfolk,² it is needless to speak at length. Well known in his day, he is all but forgotten now. He had visited Paris in 1790, and had doubtless witnessed the Federation, for a letter in the *Journal de la Société de 1789*, for August 1790, says:—

We have here the two best poets in England, both of them philosophers, republicans, and friends of the Revolution. One of them, Mr. Merry, is at work on a poem celebrating the French Revolution; it is already far advanced, and will be finished, as he believes, about December.³ . . . The other, Mr. Hayley, in no way yields to his rival.

Merry married in 1791 Elizabeth Brunton, a famous actress, and the daughter and sister of actors. He was president, as we have seen, of the club at White's Hotel, and he remained in France till May 1793, when, apparently having been detained at Calais, the General Safety Committee ordered that municipality to grant him a passport,

¹ *Moniteur*, 25th September, 1792; Aulard's *Club des Jacobins*.

² C. Kegan Paul's "Life of Godwin."

³ It appeared as an ode for 14th July 1791, and was recited at the London celebration.

his wife and two servants accompanying him.¹ In 1796 Merry and his wife went to America, where the latter appeared on the stage. Cobbett, writing to Gifford in 1797,² states that Merry arrived full of enthusiasm for American liberty, but was soon disenchanted, and speedily fell into obscurity. He died at Baltimore in 1798. He was a count of the Holy Roman Empire, having purchased that distinction for ten guineas.³

Mowatt, who was twenty-four years of age, had experience of three Paris prisons. Murray, arrested in September 1793, petitioned for leave to continue his studies at the Irish college, where his uncle had given him a bursary, as also to MacSheehy, his cousin. He is probably the Bartholomew Murray who was imprisoned at Arras.

William Newton (perhaps the William Newton of Longdon, Devon, who entered Oriel College, Oxford, in 1780), was a soldier of fortune who, though only thirty years of age, had served not only in the English dragoons but in the Russian army.⁴ Offering his sword to the Convention, he was appointed cavalry captain at the Military School, and joined the French dragoons. On 5th March 1793 he was taken before the General Security Committee, having been found in the street wearing an unknown uniform with colonel's epaulettes. He was discharged, but the Minister of War was directed to dismiss him and to forbid his use of a uniform to which he was not entitled.⁵ He nevertheless, in the following August, contracted to supply baggage waggons of a new model, and this contract was about to operate when the arrest of English residents was decreed. The Minister of the Interior suggested to the Public Safety Committee that he should be exempted, but he was nevertheless arrested and confined at the Luxembourg and the Benedictine monastery from October 1793 to June 1794. He was then tried and executed. He is said to have exclaimed in prison, on reading Barrère's report on the crimes of the English

¹ A. F. ii.* 288.

² "Memoirs of John Murray."

³ "Early Life of Samuel Rogers."

⁴ T. 1653.

⁵ A. F. ii.* 288.

government, "Has Barrère travelled, then, in England? What crimes can it have committed?" and he tore up the paper. He is also said to have compared Robespierre to oriental despots, and to have defiantly told the mob round the guillotine, "I am happier than your tyrants, for they tremble, whereas I am quite composed."

O'Neill may have been the officer of that name in the French army in 1793, and O'Reilly the "Orelly" who on the 19th September 1793 solicited the Convention for employment in the education department.

Of John Oswald much might be said, were it not sufficient to refer to the "Dictionary of National Biography" and to the *Révolution Française* of June 1897. Sceptic, vegetarian, opponent of wigs and cravats, officer in the Indian army, traveller among Kurds and Turcomans, versifier, pamphleteer, this son of an Edinburgh coffee-house-keeper played many parts; but I must confine myself to his career in France. On 11th September 1790 he presented the National Assembly with an ode on the "Triumph of Freedom," from which it may be inferred that he had witnessed the Federation of July 14, 1790. He interested himself in the mission to the Jacobin club of Watt and Cooper as representatives of a Manchester society. Robespierre had introduced these two delegates to the club, but seems afterwards to have objected to their request for the affiliation of their society. On 27th May, and again on 10th June 1792, Oswald advocated the despatch of an address of sympathy to Manchester. He repeated his efforts on 22nd August and 30th September, and at length on 3rd October an address was sent. If, as Southey asserts, there was an altercation at the club between Robespierre and the Manchester deputation, it was evidently Oswald, not the stripling Watt, who bore the brunt of it. In his speech of 30th September he denounced George III. as tyrannical and sanguinary, and as a man who should not have been liberated from a lunatic asylum; and he advocated a revolution in England as essential to the friendship of the two nations. He

translated into English the *Almanach du Père Gérard*, as also a famous revolutionary production by Collot d'Herbois. A memorial by Lewins, the Irish refugee,¹ states that when the Girondins were in power, which was in the autumn of 1792 or spring of 1793, Paine sent Oswald to Ireland to offer 20,000 men to assist in securing Irish independence. Oswald, whom Lewins mistakenly styles an American, accordingly went to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, but Ireland was not then ripe for a rising. Oswald was perhaps the sham Irish Quaker mentioned by Dumont² as travelling in France with a passport from Roland. In March 1792 he had advocated the abolition of standing armies and the adoption of the pike as the only weapon. He was authorised accordingly to raise a corps of volunteers in Paris, and conducted them to La Vendée. He had sent for two sons to join him as drummers. Father and sons were all killed in a skirmish at Thouars on the 14th September 1793, probably by their own battalion, for Oswald was a strict disciplinarian, and consequently unpopular. He had a third child; he may have been the John Oswald who joined the French army as lieutenant in 1799, and in 1817 was on half-pay. Oswald was secretary to the British club till its dissolution in February 1793.

Of Potier and Quaterman nothing is known, except that Potier, a tradesman and probably a Channel Islander, was imprisoned with the other British subjects from the 4th August to the 18th September 1794, and that Quaterman, an Irishman, after a year's captivity, was expelled from France in October 1794.

Robert Rayment, born in 1737, was an economist who published in 1790 a treatise on the British corn trade, and in 1791 a work on British national income and expenditure. He was in Paris in August 1792, and presented the latter book to the Assembly. A few days later he reappeared, as we have seen, at the bar of that body with Gamble, young Watt, and Arnviside to subscribe for the widows of

¹ A. F. iv. 1672.

² *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau*, cap. 16.

the captors of the Tuileries. He became connected with the Caisse d'Escompte, but on 19th October 1793 was arrested with the other English by the Lepelletier section,¹ and was incarcerated at the Scotch college and the Luxembourg till 2nd January 1795.² In 1796 he was still living in Paris.

William Ricketts had been in the English navy. On the 4th November 1792 he appeared before the Convention, requesting French citizenship and offering to join the French navy. The application was referred to the Navy Committee, apparently without any result. On the 28th December 1792 he again requested French citizenship and the permission of the Convention to equip a vessel for the French navy at his own expense and under his own command.³ The application was again referred to the Navy Committee, and nothing more is heard of it. On 8th September 1793, in concert with Marshall, he wrote, as we have seen, a letter to the Convention respecting the equipment of volunteers for La Vendée. Was he the navy-captain Ricketts who in 1802 married in England a Miss Gumbleton, an Irishwoman?

Rose, who signed without his Christian name, was possibly the James Augustus Rose, born in Scotland in 1757, to whose care Stone had his letters addressed. If so, he was one of the ushers to the National Assembly and the Convention, took the oath against royalty on the 16th August 1792, and on the 14th October 1792 offered 50 francs towards the war, was a prisoner in his own house in the spring of 1794, had Robespierre in his charge on the 9th Thermidor, and intrepidly carried a summons to the rebellious Commune. This Rose, who continued to be usher to the Legislature and was perhaps in 1808 a deputy mayor of a Paris arrondissement, died in 1841, and was buried by pastor Coquerel. He was more probably, however, the Rose who, with Prince, Hodges, and Millin, obtained on 13th May 1793 an order from

¹ F. 7, 2478.

² *Registre Labat, Préfecture de Police.*

³ *Procès-Verbaux de la Convention.*

the General Security Committee for passports.¹ A James Rose was scheduled in the Irish Banishment Act of 1798.

Stephen Sayre, probably the senior member of the deputation, was born in Long Island in 1734. In 1766, when living at Philadelphia, he wrote a letter on colonial grievances to Lord Dartmouth, Secretary of State for American affairs, Cowper's model peer, "who wears a coronet and prays." In 1772, when he had become a banker in Oxford Street, London, he wrote again, advocating a board of trade to be elected by the American colonies.² In 1773 he was sheriff of London and Middlesex, but he was an unsuccessful candidate for an alderman's gown. In 1775 he was arrested on the information of Francis Richardson, a young Pennsylvanian and ex-Quaker, who alleged that he had talked of kidnapping the King at the opening of Parliament and of overturning the government. Sayre had probably said this as a joke. When interrogated by the magistrate he is reported to have answered, by way of ridiculing the charge, "I can understand how a banker might be of use to a king, but not a king to a banker." He was for five days in the Tower, but was then released on bail. The prosecution collapsing, Sayre sued Lord Rochford, Secretary of State, for false imprisonment. He obtained a verdict for £1000 damages, subject to points of law, eventually decided against him. Meanwhile he had become bankrupt in 1776, and had married the daughter of the Hon. William Noel.³ In 1777 he went to Berlin as an American envoy with Arthur Lee, taking the place at the last moment of Carmichael. Hugh Elliot, the English ambassador, with an audacity for which he was officially rebuked but privately complimented, stole the papers of Lee and Sayre, and after taking copies returned them.⁴ Lord Suffolk,

¹ A.F. ii.* 288.

² "Dartmouth Papers" (Historical MSS. Commission).

³ *Annual Register*, 1775-77.

⁴ "Transactions of Royal Historical Society," 1889.

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a despatch announcing Sayre's departure for Berlin, described him as

A man of desperate intentions, with the disposition rather than the talents to be mischievous. His personal vanity is at the same time so great that he talks of going afterwards to Petersburg, in order to try the effect of his address and figure at that court.¹

He went thither, indeed, in 1781, as also to Copenhagen and Stockholm, and he was for a time secretary to Franklin. He had settled in Paris by 1790, for in January 1791 Lady Sutherland, writing to Lady Stafford respecting Talleyrand's mission to London, says :—

We have just heard that the person proposed to accompany the Eveque d'Autun is Mr. Sayer (*sic*), formerly alderman of London, and who was sent from thence, I believe, for being concerned in a plot against our King.²

Sayre became a partner with Jacob Pereyra, a Bayonne Jew, and Laborde in a tobacco factory; but in May 1792 he started in business on his own account, as witness this advertisement :—

Tobacco of the first quality, American manufacture. M. Sayre, formerly in partnership with Pereyra and Laborde at the Bonnet de la Liberté, rue St. Denis, informs the public and tobacco retailers. that he has established a factory and opened a dépôt at No. 7 passage des Petits-Pères, near the place des Victoires. . . . N.B.—A small quantity of this tobacco of the first quality can render saleable (*passable*) inferior, adulterated, or insipid (*éventé*) tobacco.³

Gorani, one of the foreigners receiving French citizenship in 1792, dedicated to Sayre a revolutionary pamphlet. By 1795 he had returned to America, was an active opponent of Washington, and died in Virginia in 1808. Thus by turns an American and an English citizen, Sayre is unaccountably described in Appleton's "American Biography" as a "patriot." This curious qualification he shares.

¹ Royal Historical Society, 1889.

² *Pall Mall Magazine*, December 1896.

³ *Journal de Paris*, 25th May 1792.

with several other personages. Had he earned it by teaching tobacconists the tricks of the trade? His ex-partner Pereyra was guillotined, along with Cloots, in 1794. The informer Richardson received an ensigncy in the English army, and rose to a lieutenant-colonelcy.

Henry and John Sheares figure so tragically in the United Irishmen's movement¹ that it is sufficient to speak of their visit to France. Redhead Yorke accompanied them to Versailles, when even John, though of extreme opinions—his quiet brother, though nine years his senior, being entirely under his influence—was so delighted with the Petit Trianon that he fell on his knees and vowed to stab every Frenchman he met if a hair of Marie Antoinette's head were touched.² The legend that John Sheares was enamoured of Théroigne de Méricourt was contradicted in 1851 by Arthur O'Connor, who stated that Sheares had no acquaintance with that heroine. It was John Sheares, according to Yorke, who suggested the address to the Convention, and he was certainly the Sheares who, crossing over to England in the same packet with young Daniel O'Connell, the future Liberator, then a staunch Tory, exultantly exhibited a handkerchief dipped in Louis XVI.'s blood. The departure of the brothers Sheares from Paris had been notified to the English government by Somers, who described them as "men of desperate designs, capable of setting fire to the dockyards."³

John Skill was a London tradesman who on the 20th April 1793 applied to the Convention for a passport for England. In 1796 he published a pamphlet in favour of peace, and in the same year he married a Miss Bresley, of Norwich. We next come to Sir Robert Smyth, whose name was so often spelt Smith⁴ as to show the identity of pronunciation of the two forms. He was a baronet of

¹ Madden's "United Irishmen"; "Fitzpatrick's "Secret Service under Pitt."

² Yorke's letter to Wickham, 3rd August 1798, in "Castlereagh Memoirs," i. 258.

³ Browning's "Despatches of Earl Gower."

⁴ By Reynolds and Paine among others.

Berechurch Hall, Essex. He was born in 1744, and was probably the Robert Smyth who entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1766. In 1770 he married the daughter of a Mr. Blake of Hanover Square, and the engraving of a picture by Reynolds of 1777 shows Lady Smyth with her three little children, a picturesque group. In 1780 Smyth became M.P. for Colchester, and he retained the seat till 1790. He had settled in Paris in 1791, and in the autumn of 1792 he assisted Lord Wycombe in procuring the escape from Paris of Madame de Flahault, with the manuscript of her tale *Adèle de Solanges* under her arm. She had had apartments at the Louvre, where in 1791 Lord Holland and Windham met Talleyrand at her supper parties.¹ Lord Wycombe, son of Lord Lansdowne, had been smitten by her charms, and she is said to have aimed at marrying him. On the 10th October 1793 Smyth (on this occasion he spelt his name Smith, a form always used by his friend Paine) drew up and presented a petition to the Convention, signed also by James Hartley, Edward Slater, and Thomas Marshall, which said :—

Grieved at the severity of the decree which has just been rendered against the English without exception, we come to claim justice from the National Convention in favour of the patriots of that nation who on the 23rd of last month addressed to you their just complaints, a copy of which is subjoined, as also the reply of your President. We come to entreat you severely to punish those of us who by their anti-civic principles have in any way attempted the destruction of the French constitution. If there are any stained with that crime let them perish. As for us, who firm in our principles have sworn to live free or die, we shall keep our oath, and we shall be French republicans. Deign to protect us as such by suspending the execution of your decree until the Public Safety Committee has reported on our petition which you have referred to it.²

Nevertheless on the 18th November 1793 "Smithe" (*sic*) was arrested by the Place Vendôme section in Paris, and sent to the Champs Elysées section with a request to have

¹ Lord Holland's "Memoirs of the Whig Party."

² C. 275.

the law for the detention of British subjects enforced against him. The latter section applied for information to Rochefort, a village near Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) where Smyth apparently had a country-house. On 23rd November he produced letters showing that the General Security Committee had ordered his liberation at Dourdan, where he had, it seems, been previously arrested. The Champs Elysées section thereupon directed that his papers should be examined, and nothing suspicious being found in them he was next day released.¹ Hérault de Séchelles, indeed, had an idea of sending him to Toulon in the autumn of 1793, to negotiate with Admiral Hood. Smyth, however, was eventually imprisoned at the Scotch college for nearly twelve months. On the 24th September 1794 he petitioned the Convention for release. Paine during his own incarceration corresponded with Lady Smyth, and that in a playful vein which we should scarcely have expected of him. Sir Robert apparently returned in 1796 to England and remained there till the peace of Amiens, when he opened a bank in Paris; but on 12th April 1802 he died in London of a sudden attack of gout.² His widow stayed in Paris, where in April 1803 her daughter married Lambton Este, son of the Rev. Charles Este. Este had been erroneously supposed by Lord Malmesbury in 1796 to be courting the mother instead of the daughter. Lady Smyth died at Versailles on 4th February 1823. Her son George Henry³ had succeeded to the baronetcy, which became extinct with him.

John Hurford Stone, the president at the meeting, born at Tiverton in 1763, was a London coal merchant, and a member of Dr. Price's congregation. He was well acquainted with continental languages and literatures, and his dinner parties included such men as Fox, Sheridan, the poet Rogers, and Talleyrand, sometimes also Madame de Genlis and her adopted daughter, Pamela. The latter,

¹ F. 7, 2473-74.

² *Moniteur*, 6th Floréal, an x.

³ She was allowed a passport in September 1793 in order to fetch him over from England. (A.F. ii.* 286.)

indeed, as we have seen, was introduced by Stone to her future husband, Lord Edward Fitzgerald. Stone, according to a family tradition, witnessed the capture of the Bastille, but he did not figure on Cloots's deputation of June 1790. He was chairman at a dinner given by the London Corresponding Society in 1790 to two Nantes delegates, François and Bougon, who describe him as "a young man well acquainted with the languages and literature of all European nations, and himself a literary man." He was in Paris in September 1792,¹ and had perhaps remained there till November. He was apparently consulted by the Girondins on the selection of Englishmen for French citizenship, for Mackintosh told Thomas Moore in 1824 that Stone procured him that honour. He returned to England in February 1793, along with forty fellow-countrymen unprovided with the passports required by the Traitorous Correspondence Act, and some of them had to stay three days on board off Dover before they were allowed to land. In May Stone was again in Paris, giving evidence in favour of General Miranda. He and his wife, Rachel Coope, were arrested on the 13th October 1793, but they had not been living together, for he was carrying on, with a partner named Beresford, a printing-office in the rue Vaugirard, while she was staying, apparently as companion, with Mrs. Joel Barlow and Mrs. Blackden in the rue Jacob. He was released on the 30th October, but she remained in prison, and on the 19th December he petitioned the Convention for her release.² That body admitted her claim to liberty, as the wife of an artisan. In April 1794, probably on account of Arthur's denunciation, both were again arrested, but were liberated next day. In June Stone obtained a divorce, and left for Switzerland in company with Helen Maria Williams. Henceforth these two seem to have regarded themselves as husband and wife. The plea on which they obtained passports for this quasi-honeymoon trip was that a proof of Stone's

¹ See letter from Bland Burges to Lord Auckland, "Dropmore MSS.," ii. 309.

² C. 286.

residence in Switzerland might serve to exculpate his brother William Stone and the Rev. William Jackson.¹

England was henceforth closed to Stone by an indictment for high treason, though his brother William, a co-defendant, was ultimately acquitted. Returning to France, Stone and Helen Williams lived together, and the connection was recognised by the lady's friends, for even the Quaker abolitionist Clarkson, after visiting her in Paris in 1818, in writing to her gave "compliments to Mr. Stone." Stone, ultimately ruined by undertaking to print a costly edition of Humboldt's "Travels," gave up business in 1813. He died in 1818, having been naturalised simultaneously with Helen Williams, who erected a tombstone to him in Père Lachaise as "the last tribute of a long friendship," and she was laid to rest close by him in 1827.

Tickell can scarcely have been the Rev. John Tickell (1727-1802) who held various English benefices, but may have been of the same family. He may have been the

¹ F. 7, 3822. Stone thus probably escaped a third arrest, for on the 14th July 1794 Montané, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, who had previously sent a denunciation of him to Robespierre and to the Public Safety Committee, but had received no answer, wrote to Fouquier Tinville: "There lives in the rue Jacob, faubourg St. Germain, a rich Englishman named Stone, who came at the beginning of the Revolution. He has not been arrested [Montané is mistaken here] because he passes himself off as a printer. I have heard that he represents himself as merely a journeyman. The printing-office, it is said, is in the name of a Scotch or Irish priest. I am told that he is afraid of being arrested, and that of the ten days of a decade he scarcely spends one in Paris, but passes the rest at a country-house which he has hired at St. Germain or Marly. I am also told that he was intimate with the conspirator Julien of Toulouse [a Protestant ex-pastor, member of the Convention, who had concealed himself to avoid arrest]. Lastly I have heard that he was intimate with another Englishman named Christie, who was very intimate with Chaumette, and that the latter sent him off to London two hours before the decree against foreigners was passed. This intimacy with Julien, Christie, and Chaumette has given me the idea that Stone might be an agent of the infamous Pitt. This can be ascertained." (W. 47, 3148.) Stone's partner was Beresford. Was he the Rev. Benjamin Beresford, rector of Bedford, who had figured in the famous Hamilton-Beresford marriage case? After the Terror, Stone addressed confidential letters on English politics to the Public Safety Committee, for in November 1794 he promised it a copy of a letter from Lauderdale, Stanhope, Coxe and other M.P.s, written to a friend and advocating peace. (A.F. ii. 29.) He advised the committee to show friendliness to the English people as distinguished from their government.

Tickell who married Lady Cassilon Stanhope, Pitt's grand-niece, and was in 1800 appointed by Pitt Usher of the Exchequer. Tweddell was doubtless son of Francis Tweddell, a Northumbrian squire, brother of the archæologist who made researches at Athens, and whose love-letters to Isabel Gunning were published in 1901. Walker was not, as at first sight might be supposed, the merchant at Manchester who had delivered reform speeches there and at Sheffield in the autumn of 1792, and who on the 5th April 1794 was tried at Lancaster for conspiracy and sedition, but was acquitted, for that Walker's Christian name was Thomas. He may have been the Walker, porcelain manufacturer in Paris, whose son John Walker, a vendor of elastic braces at Paris in 1800, took out in England a patent for elastic gloves in 1807. Wardell, a tradesman, was imprisoned from October 1793 to November 1794. Of Watts nothing is known, except that he was a member of the Constitutional Information Society. He may have been William Watts, the engraver, or the Captain Watts who in 1799 was charged with treasonable communications with France. Webb was probably the Webb of King Street, London, who later on gave Teeling, the United Irishman, a letter of introduction to Paine,¹ and the Joseph Webb to whom in 1799 was attributed the English translation of Holbach's sceptical *Histoire critique de Jésus Christ*. There was, however, a youth named Webb, having a French priest as a tutor, who in September 1792 obtained the removal of seals placed on his property as though he had been an *émigré*.

We have come to the end of the members of the deputation, but among those present at the first meeting—for we know that they attended the second—were in all probability Johnson, who, we have seen, was a fellow-lodger of Choppin, and his friend Henry Redhead Yorke. They had travelled together from Derby, where Johnson, Yorke assures us, was "universally respected as a man of honour." We learn nothing more of him after his departure from Paris with

¹ "Castlereagh Memoirs."

Choppin. Yorke, who accompanied him from Derby to Paris, was twenty years of age and in independent circumstances, is described as a Creole, and was probably born in the West Indies, but had been living at Little Eaton, near Derby. In this same year 1792 he had published a letter addressed to Bache Heathcote, a Derbyshire squire, against the abolition of the slave trade, but he speedily changed sides on this and probably on other questions. "Madly in love," as he says, "with ideal liberty," he ardently sympathised with the French revolution, and he made the acquaintance of Paine, Frost, and, as we have seen, of the brothers Sheares. Nevertheless, both he and Johnson deprecated a French invasion of England, and when they consequently seceded from the club Oswald, in a rage, told Yorke he was not fit to live in a civilised society. Yorke had taken his pro-slavery pamphlet with him to Paris in order to write a refutation of it. On quitting Paris, with the intention of winding up his affairs in England and settling in France with his "family"—by which term he may have meant a mother and brother, for he was unmarried—he left this pamphlet in the hands of "R.," "well known in the political world"—evidently Rayment. Yorke, who either returned to England *via* Holland, or subsequently visited the latter country, was there told by one John Morgan, who had recently left Paris,¹ that Rayment went to the General Security Committee and denounced him as an English spy, whose real name was Redhead. Yorke, indeed, had but recently assumed the name by which he was henceforth known. Rayment produced the pamphlet in corroboration of his assertions, and the pamphlet bore the name of Redhead. The committee thereupon issued a warrant for his arrest, seized his effects, and interrogated several Englishmen as to his whereabouts. This is Morgan's story, which Yorke credited, but I have found no trace of the alleged warrant, nor is it easy to understand why Rayment should denounce Yorke when quite out of reach.

¹ Probably the Morgan who, son of an Irish M.P., offered while in Paris, according to Somers, to assassinate George III.

Yorke in 1793 was appointed one of the two delegates of the London Corresponding Society to the Edinburgh Convention, but did not attend it. He published a letter of sympathy to Frost, then a prisoner in Newgate. He advocated parliamentary reform at Derby and Sheffield, and on 7th April 1794 he addressed an outdoor meeting in the latter town. He was alleged to have boasted in this speech that though only twenty-two he had assisted in the American, Dutch, and French revolutions, and would continue to create revolutions all over the world. He manifestly could not have figured in the American revolution, for the War of Independence terminated when he was but fourteen years of age; but he must have spoken of Holland and France. He was prosecuted for sedition and conspiracy, made an injudicious speech in defence, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. In default of finding sureties for seven years' good behaviour, his imprisonment seems to have lasted nearly four years; but he had not lacked consolation, for he fell in love with the keeper's daughter, Miss Andrews, whom he married in 1800.¹ By the time of his release, moreover, his opinions had changed. He became the vindicator of the war with France, and on revisiting Paris in 1802 to write letters for the *True Briton* he found Paine equally disillusioned with the Revolution. While engaged in editing and continuing Campbell's "British Admirals," he died in 1823.

General Thomas Ward, who served under Dumouriez, also sometimes lodged when in Paris at White's, and probably joined the club. He related to Paine that Marat had said to him, "There are about three hundred brigands in the Convention; their heads shall fly off." Paine repeated the saying to the committee of twelve in 1793.² Ward, a native of Dublin, born in 1746, was among the victims of the alleged Carmelite prison plot in 1794. The indictment charged them with having procured ropes in order to escape from prison and massacre the Convention.³

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1800.

² Schmidt, *Tableaux de la Révolution*, i. 252.

³ W. 429.

Thomas Christie, the pupil and friend of Dr. Price, of whom we shall hear again, was dining in London, as Rogers tells us, with William Vaughan on the 29th November 1792, but he may have been at the Paris dinner on the 18th, for he was in Paris from November or December 1792 to August 1793, endeavouring to obtain payment for corn supplied by Turnbull, Forbes, & Co., London merchants, to the Paris municipality in 1789. A London paper mentions as present Major or Captain De Starck, who had known Paine in London in 1791.

Sampson Perry, militia surgeon and journalist, who, to avoid a press prosecution, fled to Paris in December 1792, must also have belonged to the club. Paine, invited to the Hôtel de Ville to dine with Pétion, Dumouriez, Santerre, Condorcet, Brissot, Danton, Vergniaud, Sieyès, and others, took Perry with him. Perry also made acquaintance, at the receptions of Madame Lavit, with Cloots, Couthon, Hérault, David, and Laiguelot, a Paris deputy. This last ultimately procured his release. Perry, at the instance of Hérault, sent a female relative and her friend to England, with letters to Sheridan and other Opposition leaders, in the view of initiating an agitation for peace. He expected to be cited as a witness by Hérault to testify to this, but the defence witnesses were not called. At first exempted from arrest, Cloots, David, and four others being sureties for him, he was eventually imprisoned, and at the Scotch college on the 9th Thermidor witnessed the arrival of St. Just, who "ate the remains of a sorry dinner and drank a cup of poor sour wine." Perry, on his release in 1795, went by Havre and Dover to London, where a treacherous woman gained the reward of £100 by informing the authorities of his arrival. He disputed the validity of the outlawry, but unsuccessfully. He was then imprisoned in Newgate till 1798, revived his newspaper, the *Argus*, had litigation with Lewis Goldsmith, and died in 1823. His son James in 1800 entered the French army and attained the rank of major.

Thomas Muir, the Scotch advocate afterwards transported to Botany Bay, whence he escaped and settled at

Chantilly, arrived in Paris on the 20th January 1793, and no doubt joined the club. Henry Stevens, author of a pamphlet entitled *Les Crimes des Rois d'Angleterre*, was likewise probably a member. He was imprisoned in Paris from the autumn of 1793 till January 1795, and called on Lord Malmesbury in 1796. We may in all likelihood also reckon Denis de Vitré, French Canadian on the father's side, English on the mother's, for when arrested at the Jacobin club on the 16th December 1793 as a suspected spy, he was lodging at the Hôtel Philadelphie. He had taken part in the Federation festival at Orleans in 1790, and in 1792 had presented to the Convention his cross of St. Louis.

We have seen how the British club, after lasting only a few weeks, was broken up by dissensions, one party loving their native land and regarding it as a model for France, the other viewing the French revolution as a kind of new religion, to be imitated by, and if necessary enforced upon, England. We have seen also what vicissitudes befell its members. Six had violent deaths. Jackson took poison to avoid the gallows; Fitzgerald was killed in resisting arrest; the two Shearses were executed; Oswald fell in battle, probably through treachery; Newton perished on the scaffold. A seventh, Ward, may perhaps be added. Thirteen suffered imprisonment in Paris — Colclough, MacDermott, MacSheehy, Madgett, Masquerier, Mowatt, Murray, Paine, Potier, Quaterman, Rayment, Smyth, Stone, and Wardell, not to speak of Perry, who had experience both of French and English prisons, while two others, Frost and Yorke, underwent incarceration in England. And Thomas Muir may probably be added, for he was in Paris in April 1793. If we had the full roll of members, we should probably find additional victims, if not of the guillotine, of the dungeon. The Reign of Terror, even to those who escaped its rigours, must have been a cruel disillusion, and those who lived to witness the despotism of Napoleon must have bewailed their shattered hopes. "Do you call this a republic?"

exclaimed Paine to Yorke when they met again in Paris in 1802; "why, they are worse off than the slaves of Constantinople." The Revolution must not, it is true, be looked at from this point of view exclusively, but it certainly ranks as the most colossal disappointment—*déception* as the French would say—in human annals.

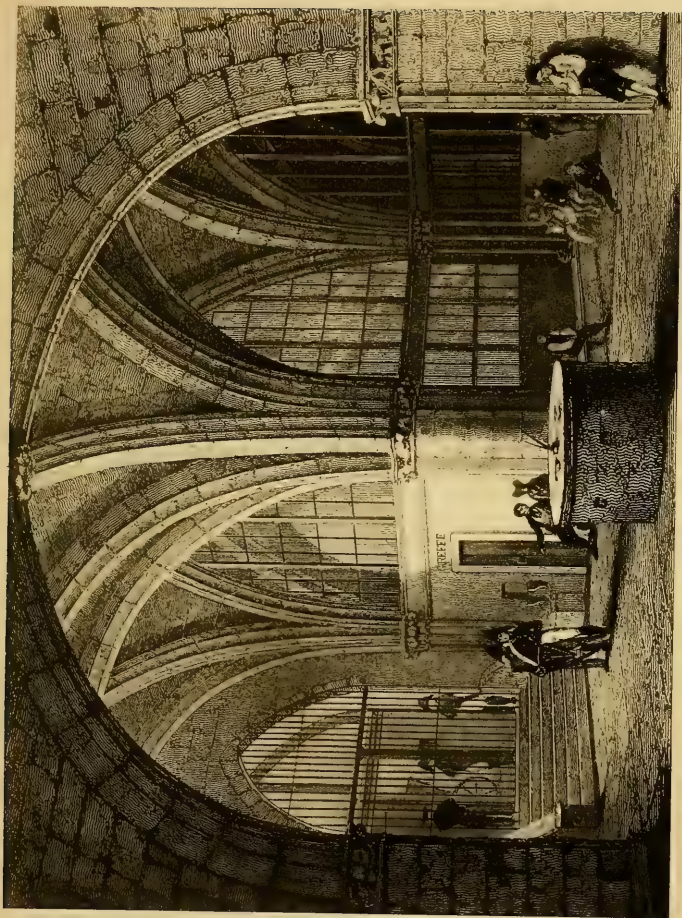
CHAPTER IX

PRISON DOCUMENTS

Fouquier Tinville—The Revolutionary Tribunal—Letters, cringing and defiant—Desmoulins—Lavoisier—Princess of Monaco—Corneille's granddaughter—Sir W. Codrington—Notes of Trials—Execution escorts—Charlotte Corday—Intercepted Letters from and to prisoners

ANTOINE QUENTIN FOUQUIER DE TINVILLE, formerly public prosecutor at the Chatelet tribunal, but obliged by misconduct to sell his post, was heavily in debt when the Revolution broke out, and was just the man to fish in troubled waters. He became prominent at the clubs, took part in the attack on the Tuileries in August 1792, and in March 1793, at the age of 46, was elected public accuser or prosecutor to the Revolutionary Tribunal. His salary was 8000 francs, and he had three clerks and four messengers under him. He himself was under the orders of the Public Safety and General Security committees, but an enormous power rested in his hands, and we shall see how tyrannously and heartlessly he exercised it. Installed at the Palace of Justice, he had virtually the power of life and death over thousands of prisoners in Paris, for he could send them for trial by the tribunal, and though there was a certain, but steadily decreasing, percentage of acquittals, trial was almost synonymous with condemnation. Not only, moreover, could he order their trial, but he had the supervision over the Conciergerie, in which they were mostly lodged when about to be tried, as well as over Duplessis college (re-named Égalité), the Archbishop's palace (re-named Hospice de l'Humanité), and St. Pélagie, which eventually were annexes to the Conciergerie, for the latter had become so crowded that

ENTRANCE TO CONCIERGERIE



an outbreak of pestilence was apprehended. Did humanity or fear of infection induce him to apply for these annexes? All we know is that on the 18th December 1793 he received a letter from the doctor of the Conciergerie, who stated that that prison, which should hold only 400 inmates, contained 600, that on entering one of the wards with a candle the foul air extinguished the flame, that many inmates were ill, and that there was danger of an epidemic.¹ The sickly prisoners were accordingly removed to the Archbishop's palace, and others to Duplessis and St. Pélagie, so that on 26th May 1794 the Conciergerie had only 362 inmates. There was a dispute in February 1794 as to the jurisdiction over it between Fouquier and the municipality, and he appealed to the Legislative Committee of the Convention, which, however, referred him to the General Security Committee.² The latter must have decided in his favour, for we do not hear of any further impeachment of his authority. The maintenance of order in the Palace of Justice also rested with him, for a complaint was addressed to him of women pretending to take charge of walking-sticks and then walking off with them. Women, moreover, applied to him for appointment as depositaries of such articles. These facts show us that the trials were attended by persons of a certain social status. Fouquier was also the recipient of complaints of disorderly practices. Thus the civil committee of Pont Neuf (Henri IV.) section complained to him on the 20th January 1794 that the Palace of Justice was the resort of prostitutes, that nurses took squalling infants thither, that refreshments were sold not merely at the stalls of the outer hall, but in the court itself, and that the barking of dogs was another disturbing element.³ Still greater disorders were denounced in a letter of the 6th July 1794, addressed by Labuissière, a municipal officer, to the mayor, but sent on to Fouquier. The sale

¹ The unhealthy condition of the prison is described by Sir Wm. Codrington. See my "Englishmen in the French Revolution," pp. 294-5.

² W. 149.

³ W. 135.

of eatables in the outer hall, said Labuissière, made it like a market, and the noise was such as frequently to disturb the trials. Indecencies of all sorts were practised. Not merely idlers, but adventurers, thieves, and prostitutes spent the day there, some even the night also.¹ On the 19th August 1794 the General Security Committee directed the closing of a drinking bar, on the ground that it attracted a crowd, and thus disturbed the proper decency and quiet of a court of justice.²

Exercising such functions, it may be conceived that Fouquier was the recipient of a multitude of communications, and had to draw up a multitude of notes. Besides, too, the mass of documents legitimately in his custody, he detained, as we shall presently see, a large number of letters addressed by or to prisoners and their families. Every scrap of paper which thus came into his hands he preserved, except, indeed, letters which would have proved his own notorious venality. Even invitations to dinner were added to the heap. Documents sent him by the Convention committees, jailers' reports of admissions or deaths—three deaths took place on the 22nd July 1794 at the Archbishop's palace—indictments prepared but not yet used, letters from the provinces, some announcing convoys of prisoners, elaborate justifications by prisoners, some evidently intended for delivery before the Revolutionary Tribunal, memoranda of all kinds, were preserved. These papers now fill nearly two hundred cardboard boxes at the National Archives, Paris.³ About half of them are classified, the cases being thus ready for trial, and Fouquier plainly intended to classify the remainder, for many letters relating to prisoners are endorsed by him, "*Joindre Laurent*," or whatever the man's name might be, but a much larger number lack even this foretaste of arrangement. He had thus cut out much work for the tribunal, and prisoners continued to arrive from the country up to Thermidor. The present custodians of these documents

¹ W. 194.

² W. 180.

³ A small proportion of them are posterior to Fouquier's dismissal.

have been content with stamping each, as a precaution against abstraction. M. Terrasse, one of the curators, had about eighty years ago an intention of publishing a selection from this chaos, or of incorporating the most interesting papers in a work on the Revolution, but on his death, in 1824, the only result of his labours had been a collection of transcripts filling two boxes.¹ With this exception nobody seems to have gone through the papers, though one box here and there has been examined at random. Dauban, for instance, hit upon the collection of reports of the so-called "observers of public opinion" for the month of Ventôse, year 2 (W. 112), but not upon those for Nivôse (W. 19). Yet, neglected as these documents have been, there is nothing to equal them for giving a vivid idea of the Terror.

Let us first glance at the letters addressed to Fouquier. Prisoners or their families often appealed to him for release, instead of to the Convention or its committees, and many of these appeals are pitifully cringing. Fréville, a schoolmaster, author of the curious biography of his little son, brought up and dying in Jacobin principles,² sends a collection of extracts from his works, in proof of his civism. Valant, the ex-priest already mentioned,³ eight months a prisoner, sends with like object a copy of the newspaper account of his marriage in May 1793, when Bishop Lindet officiated and three married priests were present. He boasted also of having in October 1789 helped to fetch the "crowned monster" (Louis XVI.) from Versailles.⁴ The four children of Lemoine implore

¹ U. 1019, 1021.

² See p. 249.

³ See p. 3.

⁴ His wife, after twice waiting on the Convention, which referred her to the General Security committee, published on the 27th January 1794 an appeal to the sections, in which she urged that Marat had vouched for her husband's patriotism. Being on the eve of her confinement she added, with a sensibility characteristic of the time: "Our little republican seems to cry to you from my womb, 'Patriots! listen to the voice of my mother, or rather that of justice and humanity. My birth will be a blessing conferred by the representatives of the people and by you on the authors of my existence and on me. It will also be the happy presage of my entire devotion to the one and indivisible republic.'"

their father's release, and they affix their ages, 12, 11, 7, and 5, to their signatures. Illiterate women, wives of working men, plead also for their husbands' liberation. A widow writes: "Just and equitable man, listen to the feeble voice of a poor widow, who appeals to you in the name of humanity." As next best to release, a speedy trial is frequently solicited. Thus Jonas, probably the man executed whose widow was afterwards succoured by the Convention, begging for an early trial, says: "Citizen, you are the guardian angel of mankind. Your virtuous qualities have long been known and extolled. I appeal to you, citizen, with perfect confidence." There is no reason to suspect irony here; it is simply flattery. "An honest man like you," says another suppliant, "cannot take offence at my solicitations." "I had heard of your reputation," says a third, "as a man of feeling, humane, and the protector of oppressed mankind." Wives and children often plead that they are reduced to poverty by the imprisonment of husbands and fathers. Mercier, the well-known writer, sends on the 1st June 1794 a republican hymn for publication, and, though a prisoner, would join at heart with patriots in chanting it. He signs himself "author in the last five years of thirty patriotic works." He denounced Fouquier after his death as a monster; he had toadied him when living and powerful. Many prisoners ask for permission to see their families, and families solicit a like favour. A woman begs to be allowed to go home under escort to fetch a change of linen, she and her husband having been arrested without the opportunity of bringing any article of clothing with them. Again, prisoners, or their counsel for them, ask for facilities for preparing their defence. On the 17th January 1794 Béranger (perhaps the poet's father) and twenty-two other prisoners petitioned for removal to a hospital, which favour had been granted to others. Adam Lux, the admirer of Charlotte Corday, writes from La Force on the 20th September 1793: "Citizen, I am not unaware that you are loaded with business, but having

been two months in prison, I have the honour to remind you of me, and beg you to decide whether there is ground for prosecution against me and to hasten my trial." This letter scarcely bears out the general belief that Lux actually courted, and so to speak thrust himself on, the guillotine. He had still six weeks to wait till busy Fouquier could attend to him.

There is occasionally a letter in a different key. The abbé Charles de Broglie—*noblesse oblige*—on the 8th July 1793 expresses surprise at the delay of his trial. He had expected to be guillotined on the 22nd June, and he repudiates the efforts of his brother Victor to save him. But the abbé, who was twenty-eight years of age, survived the Terror,¹ whereas Victor, the soldier, was, as we shall see, guillotined. All the rest of the family either emigrated or were spared. Montjourdain, making no complaint of the sentence of death, asks Fouquier to forward to his wife a document essential to her pecuniary interests. This commission he would seem to have performed, as also to have transmitted an unsealed letter to a starving wife by one Bernot.

Camille Desmoulins' father makes a touching appeal to Fouquier as an old fellow-townsmen at Guise. "Confined to my study by infirmity, I was the last here, on account of the care taken to conceal it from me, to learn this event, calculated to alarm the sincerest patriot," viz. his son's arrest. He vouches for Camille having been a republican even before the 14th July 1789, speaks of his unmasking Brissot and Hébert, urges the absurdity of supposing him to have changed his opinions, and presses Fouquier to examine the affair. He signs himself "Thy compatriot and fellow-citizen Desmoulins, hitherto proud of being the father of Camille, as of the first and most unshakable republican."²

There is probably the last letter ever written by Lavoisier,

¹ We hear of him in 1810, through intercepted royalist letters, as head of a Jesuit school in England and as deep in debt (A.F., iv. 1508).

² W. 193. The poor old man, heartbroken, died shortly after his son.

the eminent chemist, and as such it deserves to be quoted. Addressed to Fouquier on the 13th Floréal, it says:—

Citizen, when I went up at noon to the Chamber Council to undergo my interrogatory, a bundle of papers necessary for my individual defence was taken from me. I have only a few moments to re-peruse them and prepare myself for what I shall have to explain to-morrow at the tribunal. Be good enough, therefore, citizen, to give orders for it to be restored to me.¹

Princess Joseph of Monaco, twenty-five years of age, of whom I have already spoken, wrote three letters to Fouquier. In the first she said: "I should be obliged to citizen Fouquier de Tinville if he would be good enough to grant me a moment's audience. I entreat him not to refuse my request." In the second she wrote:—

I inform you, citizen, that I am not pregnant. I wished to tell you so [by word of mouth], but not hoping that you will come I write you word. I did not sully my mouth with this falsehood from fear of death nor to avoid it, but to get a day's grace in order not to have my hair cut off by the executioner.² It is the only legacy which I can leave my children, and this at least should be pure.

CHOISEUL STAINVILLE, JOSÈPHE GRIMALDI MONACO,
a foreign princess dying by the injustice of French judges.

To Citizen FOUQUIER DE TINVILLE,
très pressée.

In the third letter she begged Fouquier to send to her children a little packet containing her hair and some farewell words. He either did this or destroyed it, for the packet is not among his papers. Let us give him the benefit of the doubt. In spite of the withdrawal of the plea of pregnancy she was examined by the doctor and midwife, and then executed. Her last words at the foot of the scaffold to her maid-servant, about to share her fate, were—"Courage, my friend, crime alone can show fear."

¹ W. 1021.

² She cut it off herself with a bit of glass, for knives or scissors were not allowed.

As a rule prisoners beseech not release but a speedy trial, yet even acquittal did not always ensure liberation, for there are several complaints of continued detention. Many prisoners, particularly provincials, complain that they had been the victims of private spite. One states that while in prison at Poitiers his fellow-captives made him drunk, and then entrapped him into writing a letter to the Convention in which he bade it go to the devil, whereupon he was despatched to Paris. Many prisoners protested entire ignorance of the grounds of their arrest. Several sent Fouquier billets showing that at the Federation of 1790 they entertained provincial delegates, Bailly having invited the Parisians to volunteer such hospitality. Some wrote or even printed long defences, which it may be questioned whether Fouquier condescended even to glance at. The illiterate signatures to some of these defences indicate that fellow-captives kindly drew up the documents, and I should here mention that a large proportion of the letters of prisoners show that the writers were of humble status. The "aristocrats" properly so called were but a small minority.

Madame de Staël, in an unpublished treatise of 1798 (see *Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1, 1899), has a forcible passage on this indiscriminate character of the arrests. She says :—

When formerly whoever disbelieved in a particular explanation of Grace or the Trinity was declared a criminal, many men uninterested in these futile questions could live at peace in their family and their domestic relations. But when you introduce the despotism of faith into political discussions, which affect the interests of all, and into opinions which, dependent on circumstances, to-day become a crime, whereas only yesterday they were enforced, I know no asylum, however obscure, no unknown name, or no dormant faculties which can offer shelter from the revolutionary inquisition.

To demonstrate his ignorance of the alleged Luxembourg plot, Dallier, twenty years of age, protested that during eight months' captivity he had been completing his

education, mostly keeping to his bedroom.¹ The plea seems to have been for once effectual, for his name is not in the guillotine list. Another Luxembourg prisoner claimed credit for denouncing the plot, and artfully suggested release, on the ground that the other inmates were irritated and might ill-use him.² A third, Meunier, wrote: "My position at the Luxembourg since what has passed there is more and more critical. I do my duty. I am treated as president of the revolutionary committee of the Luxembourg, and Julien, my room-mate, as secretary of the committee. A separate room in the interior would suit us. Our position forces us to be isolated. I claim justice—pure and intact."³ He was perhaps the father of the young Meunier, twenty years of age, who, at the trial of the Babeuf conspirators, first turned informer, then retracted, and when called as a witness struck up a hymn, and was arrested for contempt of court. Denis Michel Julien, his confederate, was a tradesman, twenty-nine years of age. He was liberated after Robespierre's fall, and perhaps Meunier also, but was rearrested on the 8th August 1794. On being prosecuted in October for his conduct in the pretended Luxembourg conspiracy, he induced Paine, his room-mate from March to July, to testify to his probity and humanity.⁴ Julien was discharged without trial, but I fear that he imposed upon Paine's good-nature. We are indebted to him, however, for the incidental information that his room, that is to say Paine's also, was on the basement, apart from the bulk of the prisoners, who seem to have been on the upper floors. Only three days before Robespierre's fall a Luxembourg prisoner sent Fouquier a fresh list of nine "conspirators," and only two days before another man offered to give information against his fellow-captives.

In pleasing contrast to these dastards, and to anonymous or signed delations, Gaule, at the Conciergerie, asks permission to give up his bed to a new-comer, an octogenarian suffering from stone and lodged in the open court. "In

¹ W. 171.

² W. 135.

³ W. 190.

⁴ Conway's "Writings of Paine," vol. iv. p. xiv.

order that this may be known only to thee [the jailor who handed the letter to Fouquier] and me, send me, as though by order, to his place until either he or I leave." Leave! He evidently meant leave for the guillotine, but it is consoling to find no Gaule on the fatal list.

Among the prisoners who appealed to Fouquier's clemency was Adélaïde Dupuis Corneille d'Angely, a native of Geneva, who had settled in France with her husband in 1786. The latter, a native of Fulda, had emigrated, but she was arrested in the summer of 1793, and wrote from prison :—

A granddaughter of the great Corneille and pupil of Voltaire, the tears of a weeping mother, the cries of an infant child deprived of all help, will doubtless reach thy heart and find it compassionate. Having but little property, and being a foreigner, I have nobody to look after my child and my interests. My child, seven years of age, is left to himself without help from anybody. Born at Les Délices, territory of the republic of Geneva, who can feel more than I the value of the liberty which I ask? I await all from justice and thy equity.¹

She had also written to Robespierre, who sent on the letter to Fouquier, in these terms :—

Deign, Robespierre, to listen and render justice to the granddaughter of the great Corneille and the pupil of Voltaire,² who is worthy to receive from thee the liberty which she solicits. . . . Robespierre, loving justice too much to refuse it, will restore an affectionate mother to her son and a good *citoyenne* to her country. The happiness of a family is not indifferent to his heart.³

The mention of Voltaire was not calculated to impress Robespierre; Rousseau would have been a more potent name. In another letter she says :—

The blood of the old Horace runs in my veins, and I received from infancy the lessons of the immortal author, father (*sic*) of Brutus and Mahomet, who combated fanaticism.

¹ W. 146.

² Who in 1764 had edited an edition of Corneille for her benefit, Louis XV., the Russian Emperor, and other great personages being liberal subscribers.

³ W. 148.

Her young son also wrote from the hospital to Robespierre, pleading for his mother's liberation. She must have been released after Robespierre's fall, but she was unable to obtain the erasure of her husband's name from the list of *émigrés*, without which he could not return to France.¹ On the 6th January 1794, however, the Convention, among its literary grants, voted her 3000 francs.

Several Englishmen wrote to Fouquier, of course in French, for it is not likely that he understood English. George Grieve or Greive, the Northumbrian who had settled at Marly for the purpose of molesting Madame Dubarry, sent him a list of twenty-six witnesses to be called against her. His own name headed the list, and Zamore, the negro page whom she had loaded with kindness, came fifth. Fouquier added two more names.² Arthur, member of the Paris Commune, an upholsterer, born in France but of English parentage, sent Fouquier on the 28th October 1793 a reminder that he had evidence to give against Clavière, ex-Finance Minister, who, however, as we have seen, forestalled the guillotine by suicide.³ Sir William Codrington, arrested while living at St. Servan, near St. Malo, in September 1793, and sent to the Paris Conciergerie, wrote on the 13th January 1794:—

LIBERTÉ.

ÉGALITÉ.

To the Citizen Public Prosecutor of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

William Codrington, English by extraction, and settled for fifteen years in France, is detained at the Conciergerie on a vague denunciation. He has suffered for three months all the torments of a painful illness. His heart is at ease, his innocence reassures him, and about sixty years⁴ of a life passed without fear and without reproach leave him no doubt as to the result of his trial. He offers tangible proofs of his attachment to the French Revolution—the attestation given him by the General Council of the Commune of St. Servan and a letter from the municipality of the same parish.

¹ *Moniteur*, xxv. 422.

² W. 164.

³ W. 135.

⁴ His real age was 56. In 1819 he was awarded 23,000 francs compensation for confiscated property.

These documents prove that Codrington, during a residence of eleven years, so conducted himself as to earn the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and this debars any suspicion of the most disgraceful of crimes, base treachery. He appends these documents to this memorial. His age, his ill-health, and some infirmities demand that he should be promptly transferred to a private asylum, or placed with some republican whose well-known patriotism allows him to answer for Codrington's presence and conduct. He ventures to flatter himself that the citizen public prosecutor will kindly put an end to his sufferings and grant him his request.¹

Codrington had apparently applied to some expert calligrapher, perhaps an English fellow-captive, to write this memorial on foolscap in a good legible hand, and having on the 18th January been acquitted, though still detained in common with other Englishmen as hostages for Toulon, he was removed on the 29th to Mahay's private asylum or boarding-house. His appeal to Fouquier had been backed by a Madame Vilde, who had visited him in prison, and who, in an undated letter, says :—

I am the woman who so often importunes thee respecting Codrington, detained at the Conciergerie. The press of business essential to the republic no doubt prevents thee from attending to private interests, but there are some which inspire the interest of every man of feeling, and this is just the case of my respectable relative. Thou wilt recognise his innocence. I only ask for justice. I ask thee as a particular favour to hasten his trial. He is exposed to all the dangers of a painful and rigorous detention. He is ill. My father and sister have left their home to carry him succour. My father is a public functionary. Duty calls him, friendship detains him. He has sacrificed his private interests. He cannot make those of the public suffer. If the misfortune of an unhappy family is entitled to thy consideration, in the name of humanity give a moment's attention to Codrington's affair. Finish it promptly. The reward of a good action and the merit of having done it as a good republican ensure the gratitude of a woman who knows how to appreciate such sentiments.—I am, thy fellow-citizen,

VILDE.

Three weeks after Robespierre's fall, Madame Vilde,

¹ W. 124.

whom we may suspect of being something more than cousin to Codrington, writes to Fouquier :—

Thou wilt doubtless, citizen, excuse the impatience of an unfortunate captive who longs for liberty. My cousin, not aware of the promise kindly given me by you to attend at once to his affair, reminded you of it by the letter which I addressed to thee. We await everything from thy justice, and I hope that it will restore to me my unfortunate relative, who has been so long ill.—I have the honour to salute thee with fraternity, thy fellow-citizen,

VILDE.¹

Fouquier had apparently quite forgotten Codrington, for he endorses this letter "Useless ; what does it refer to ?" and the prisoner had still four months to wait for his liberation.

Fouquier's notes relative to trials are of poignant interest. Thus we find directions how Danton and his fifteen fellow-prisoners were to be seated. "It must be so arranged that the accused are placed on the upper bench, the gendarmes occupying the lower one." This evidently implies a fear that the prisoners might force their way out of the dock and incite the spectators to join them, or that the spectators might forcibly liberate the captives. Danton, we find by this memorandum, sat between Hérault de Séchelles and d'Espagnac. In preparing the indictment of the Dantonists Fouquier summarised the report of St. Just, inspired, as we know, by Robespierre. One of the charges against Desmoulins was that he had opposed the decree for the arrest of English residents in France, for which at the time "English newspapers thanked him." A note made during the trial of Adam Lux states that he "confessed everything, but refused to divulge his printer's name." The memoranda of Madame Roland's trial tell us nothing unfortunately of what she said, but we learn that Mademoiselle Mignot, the music teacher who, as we have seen, treacherously reported the conversations

¹ W. 151.

of Roland's dinner table, "confirmed her (previous) declaration"; whereas the testimony of Lecoq, the manservant, summoned with a like treacherous purpose, is described by Fouquier as *rien*.

There is no record of the answers sent by Fouquier to the supplications addressed to him, but the Archives possess¹ the daily orders sent by him to Hanriot to provide the escort for the persons to be guillotined. These must have been found among Hanriot's papers, and they go up to the 8th Thermidor; that of the 9th was perhaps still in Hanriot's pocket when he was captured and guillotined. Fouquier sometimes names all the persons condemned, but when there was a large batch he specifies only a few or merely gives the number. In the case of Madame Roland (he spells it Rolland) he says: "The public interest requires the execution to be *très pressée*. The escort is to be ready at 3 o'clock." Fouquier places her name before that of Lamarche, which corroborates the story of her pleading for Lamarche to be executed first lest he should be still further unmanned by the spectacle of her death. Again on the 20th April 1794, on the trial of the twenty-five Toulouse judges and others, Fouquier wrote to Hanriot: "As persons of this stamp may attract a considerable crowd, I invite you in your discretion to take the measures necessary, especially as the judgment will be pronounced to-day at 3 o'clock."² This shows that he took condemnation for granted. The hour for starting varies from 7, 9, 10, and 11 A.M. to 3, 4, and 5 P.M. The "widow Capet" (Marie Antoinette), condemned at 4.30 A.M., was executed at 10; the Girondins were guillotined at noon; Danton at 4 P.M. The executions always took place by daylight. If the trial therefore lasted till dusk or later, the sentence was not carried out till next morning. Rabaut St. Étienne, the Protestant pastor and ex-deputy, being arrested at 4 A.M., and being outlawed, so that no trial, but merely identification, was necessary, was executed

¹ A.F. ii. 48.

² Ibid. 47.

at 2 P.M. This was so unusual an hour that Fouquier, in filling up the printed form, wrote *matin* instead of *soir*, and had to correct this slip of the pen.¹ Fouquier himself, condemned with fourteen other Terrorists between 6 and 7 P.M. on the 6th May 1795, had to wait till 11 next morning, for though the prisoners wished for instant death the executioner, not expecting the trial to end in time, had taken his departure.

Among the papers preserved by Fouquier is a letter addressed by Sergent-Marceau on the 18th July 1793 to Hermann, president of the Revolutionary Tribunal, respecting the execution of Charlotte Corday. Sergent, in the "Reminiscences of a Regicide," published by Mrs. Simpson in 1889, says: "I did not see this horror [the executioner slapping the victim's face], but as soon as I heard of it I wrote to the president of the tribunal, Hermand (*sic*), to ask that at next day's sitting the executioner might be subjected to a severe and public punishment for this crime against humanity. The judge thought as I did, and the man was imprisoned."

Here is Sergent's letter. After applauding the Parisians for keeping at executions a silence interrupted only by cheers for the Republic, he says:—

But yesterday the man charged with the painful function of executing judgments [Legros] indulged, in presence of the people, in reprehensible excesses over the remains of the monster who took the life of one of the representatives of the French people. The people had seen that woman pass to the scaffold, and had escorted her without insulting her last moments. They had inwardly applauded the judgment which awarded her the penalty she deserved, and the more their indignation against that unfortunate was legitimate and strong, the more proud and generous was their attitude and tranquil demeanour. At that moment they again baffled their enemies by the nobility of their conduct. Why did the citizen charged with the execution of the law allow himself to incite them to excesses² by adding to the punishment unpardonable

¹ Facsimile in *Révolution Française*, September 1898.

² This seems to imply that the mob applauded the act, but according to the *Moniteur* (xvii. 255) they murmured.

outrages? Magnanimous people, thou desirest only strict justice, no mercy, no leniency towards traitors or their accomplices; but thou desirest not vengeance, which would degrade thee. Vengeance is the property of weak and ferocious minds, but thou art invincible and kindly. I ask the tribunal to repair the outrage offered to the nation and to philosophy by the executioner who, conformably to law, showed the people the head of Charlotte Corday, but who allowed himself to load it with blows. This act, which would be repulsive on the part of any citizen, appeared to many criminal in him who religiously executes your judgment and the law. I ask therefore that he be censured in presence of the people at one of your sittings, and that you enjoin him to be more circumspect.¹

Some punishment was inflicted on Legros, who was a carpenter by trade. Medical authorities deny that the blow could, as alleged, have caused a flush, which was either imaginary or existed before the decapitation, and Helen Williams probably gives the true version, viz., that the blush was the "last impression of offended modesty," caused by the executioner taking off her neckerchief.

On the 25th March 1794 the Madeleine cemetery was disused, being over full, and the garden adjoining Parc Monceau was assigned for the burials. The distance being thus greater, Fouquier directed that four mounted gendarmes should escort the carts from the place of execution to the cemetery. It is scarcely probable that these carts were the same as those, partly open at the side, in which the victims were taken to the guillotine; but though several contemporaries speak of the horror of meeting the latter, we hear nothing of the carts containing the dead bodies, except from the abbé Carrichon, a witness of the execution of the Noailles family. He tells us that as each head fell it was thrown with the body into a cart painted red, and swimming with blood. Fouquier, according to Étienne Dumont, a witness at his trial, ordered the guillotine carts every morning before the trials began, but told the contractor to station them in

¹ W. 150.

the neighbouring squares, to avoid a bad impression on the public. Fouquier had also to engage vans to convey persons from other prisons to the Conciergerie, to be ready for trial, for there are letters from Cellier, inspector of military transports,¹ stating that three closed vans would always be at his disposal, one of them accommodating twenty persons. These removals to the Conciergerie seem to have been carried out at night, to avoid notice and to prevent prisoners from appealing to people in the streets for rescue.

On the 10th July 1794 the captain of the sixty gendarmes forming the escort to the guillotine informed Fouquier that one Conceau,² before mounting the cart, handed to a gendarme a gold watch and chain and 100 francs for transmission to his wife, but that the gendarme disappeared without waiting for the letter which was to accompany them. Conceau complained that the man had appropriated the articles, and described him as a short man. The captain began sending for the gendarmes, that Conceau might identify the culprit, but a citizen wearing an official scarf came up, and by threats of arrest forced the captain to abandon the investigation. There were probably many of such misappropriations by keepers and turnkeys.

I have mentioned that some of the jailors sent daily reports of the number of admissions and discharges. The old Port Royal convent had been re-named Port Libre, for names often went by contraries, and the jailor with unconscious irony headed his reports with the words "Maison de suspicion Port Libre."

Whereas the other prisons were under the control of the sections in which they were situated and of the Convention committees, Fouquier had jurisdiction, as I have said, over the Conciergerie and its annexes. These were expressly exempted from a decree of the Convention of the 10th October 1793 by which visits were forbidden, but letters on domestic affairs and personal wants allowed.³ A

¹ W. 176-7.

² No such name in Wallon's list.

³ But latterly all correspondence seems to have been forbidden, for we hear of letters being concealed under dogs' collars or in linen sent to be washed.

decree of the 16th November ordering a common dietary,¹ the rich to pay for the poor, seems also not to have been applied to Fouquier's captives, for there are among his papers a number of tradesmen's bills of later date, sent in to prisoners for the supply of eatables, as well as articles of furniture. In arbitrarily intercepting correspondence Fouquier may have been inspired by the Jacobin club, which regularly sent him reports of its deliberations, and which on the 12th March 1794 resolved that prisoners ought to be debarred visits and letters, or even the possession of pens, ink, and paper. What is evident is that he made no announcement of his prohibition, but allowed prisoners and their friends to continue writing letters in ignorance of his ruthless suppression of them.² Nor assuredly did he vouchsafe an answer to anxious inquiries on both sides as to the consequent absence of tidings. He kept up this suppression even after Robespierre's fall, for there are letters of posterior date, and in one of these a prisoner states that that event had acted very beneficially on his health.

The intercepted letters addressed to prisoners by families and friends are full of pathos.³ Thus a wife informs her husband of the death of a child, and not unfrequently a child adds a few lines to the mother's letter. In one case two young children append each a line of greeting to the imprisoned father. A mother and her little girl may be in one prison, the father in another, and the girl expresses

¹ This was enforced on General O'Hara, though a prisoner of war. He evaded the rule for some weeks by pleading illness. He was subsequently allowed to go on parole to Chantilly.

² Chénier smuggled his poems by writing them in minute characters on narrow strips of paper, which he sent to his father, concealed in linen for the wash. Ginguéné wrote letters to his wife on scraps of paper concealed in like manner, underlining in the list of linen the first letter of the one containing the document. Some of the warders, however, were open to bribes, and connived at correspondence.

³ None of these intercepted letters are in a foreign language. The Germans, Belgians, English, and the few Americans who were incarcerated on various pretexts, did not apparently attempt letter writing, doubtless because friends in France might have been compromised by communications, while letters to foreign countries had little chance of reaching their destination.

pride at having written so long a letter which she hopes will please her father, while the mother assures him that the girl wrote without any prompting. Husband and wife may even be in the same prison, but the two wards separated, so that the husband has to write and ask Fouquier for permission to see his wife. Many letters to prisoners accompany articles of food or clothing. A wife, for instance, sends socks, drawers, waistcoat, wine, and fruit. Another sends meat, turnips, and carrots, and asks her husband whether he needs anything else. A third forwards her husband cauliflowers, a pigeon, gooseberries, apricots, and wine. Registered letters containing *assignats* were naturally addressed by provincials to husbands or other relatives in Paris prisons, and in these cases the post-office did not deviate from its rule of sending a printed notice to the intended recipient, inviting him to call for the letter. Such a notice seems a bitter irony, for how could a prisoner comply with it? It is true there was the option of sending somebody with a power of attorney, but this formality was probably difficult. I have come upon half-a-dozen such notices. These were evidently intercepted by Fouquier, and the registered letters must have awaited the release of discharged prisoners.

As to letters written by prisoners, numberless captives wished their families or friends to procure them certificates of civism or revolutionary zeal, and it is sad to think that had not these letters been suppressed acquittals might perhaps have been obtained. Many provincials wrote to announce their arrival in Paris. One, who had as a boy been a student at Duplessis college, finds himself consigned there as a prisoner, and is reminded of his youthful pranks, but is so sanguine of acquittal that he intends to profit by his involuntary visit to Paris to look up old comrades. Prisoners also send letters with linen to be washed. How came letters of this kind into Fouquier's possession? The articles were perhaps duly delivered, while the accompanying letters after perusal had to be handed over to the jailor, and passed on to Fouquier.

Many prisoners ask their families for money, clothes, and bedding. One requests his pipe and tobacco, as also letter-paper and pens. Another applies for a lettuce for a salad. Bisseau, probably the music-master "Bissot," who on the 27th April 1794 was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for giving false certificates of residence to two reactionaries, had to ask his wife to arrange with two other *citoyennes*, "so as not to send more provisions than we need. . . . The exercise which we take is not sufficient to sharpen the appetite."¹ He was anxious, moreover, to economise, as if his detention was prolonged he would have to do with prison fare, "which though scanty enables us to be a burden to nobody." This shows us that prisoners clubbed together for meals, but it is a solitary instance of too ample supplies, and latterly prison fare, indeed, was compulsory. Prior to this regulation prisoners from whom the money in their possession had been taken on arriving in prison, could demand 50 francs a decade out of it for their maintenance, but there are many complaints that the jailor had withheld these instalments, or that the writers had been transferred to another prison without their money being also transferred.

A prisoner addresses verses to his son, named Guillaume Tell, after the legendary Swiss hero. A wife expresses satisfaction, on the 21st July, that her husband was none the worse for the great heat, and a boy, Decaisne, writes to his captive mother on the 25th, "We are all well, and all embrace you. We hope soon to do so literally. I embrace the whole family." Five days later, Robespierre having meanwhile fallen, he writes again—"We are all well. Have patience. We shall shortly see you." The callousness of detaining such letters and even of prisoners' notes to counsel for their defence needs no comment.

¹ W. 177-179.

CHAPTER X

PRISON DOCUMENTS (*continued*)

Farewell Letters of Victims of the Guillotine—Fouquier's Humanity

BUT the high-water mark of Fouquier's brutality was the detention of farewell letters to wives, husbands, children, or friends, by persons condemned to death. The poignant interest of such documents is obvious. "The hour of death," as Renan says,¹ "is essentially philosophical. At that moment everybody speaks his best, for you are in presence of the infinite, and are not tempted to make sonorous phrases." Until February 1899, when I gave about thirty of these letters in the *Atlantic Monthly*, none of them had ever been published, and possibly descendants now living may learn for the first time from this book what were the last lines penned by their unfortunate ancestors. Victor Hugo in his *Dernier Jour d'un Condamné* drew on his powerful imagination, but here we have the genuine outpourings of the heart on the approach of death. Written on sheets or scraps of paper of every variety of form and quality, the ink now faded, they cannot be handled without emotion.² We can realise the Terror more vividly when we read these tragical farewells. Resignation, as will be seen, is the dominant note ; but not all of the victims possessed equal fortitude at the thought of leaving wives and children, perhaps in penury, and one writer tells us that his letter was watered with tears. Forgiveness of enemies is also frequently expressed ; only in one instance is there a breath of malediction. Some of the victims enjoyed religious consolations ; others felt merely a possibility of a future.

¹ *Abbesse de Jouarre.*

² W. 111, 115, 117, 123, 131, 134, 145, 146, 147, 168 ; U. 1019, 1021.

state with the renewal of family ties. We can fancy the prisoners employing their few remaining moments in these assurances of affection; sympathising fellow-captives, perhaps, standing round who knew not how soon their own turn might come. Death would have had an additional sting had they known that these harrowing farewells, cynically scanned by the brutal Fouquier, would be tossed aside to lie neglected for a century.

I retain the second person singular wherever used, for the French still employ it in addressing near relations or intimate friends, as well as in invoking the Deity. This distinction we have unhappily lost, for by the beginning of the sixteenth century *thou* had become contumelious. "*I thou* thee, *thou* traitor," said Coke to the unfortunate Raleigh, and George Fox could not succeed in rehabilitating it. The French Jacobins were equally unsuccessful in attempting to make *tutoiement* universal, though among Paris cabmen it still lingers.

It is difficult to give the exact equivalent of terms of endearment. Literally translated, some would seem more effusive than they really are (for words by wear often lose much of their original force), while others would appear cold. *Mon cher ami*, *ma chère amie*, for instance, mean much more than "my dear friend." It is a common form of address between husband and wife, and I have usually rendered it by "dearest." If, nevertheless, some expressions are too gushing for Anglo-Saxon tastes, we must make allowance for national temperament, and for the high pitch to which emotions had been worked up by the Revolution.

I give the letters in chronological order, not merely because any other arrangement would be arbitrary, but because it is necessary to bear in mind the successive stages of the Terror. The victims were at first entirely, or mostly, Royalists; for the Revolution began by devouring its enemies, but ended, as Vergniaud foreboded, by devouring, like Saturn, its own children. The later sufferers were mostly Republicans, as stanch Republicans as their

persecutors, and were slaughtered for a simple *nuance*, or through private spite. They were executed as Federalists. Ultimately, indeed, there were also Hébertists, butchered because they were too violent, but only one of them seems to have written a farewell letter. In politics, therefore, the letters show what musicians term a crescendo, while in religion they exhibit just the reverse—the decline or eclipse of faith, yet no avowed materialism. Subject to exceptions, moreover, the social status of the victims steadily lowers. We have, it is true, an aristocrat like Victor de Broglie, but among the later victims we find small tradesmen, wine-shop keepers, and men in still humbler positions, which would account for their rude penmanship and orthography.

But the letters may now speak for themselves.

Louis Alexandre Beaulieu, aged 36, was a tradesman, who had been commissioned by Mauny, a retired dragoon officer, to procure gold and silver—an illegal transaction, concealed in his letters under the terms red and white wine, which meant yellow and white coins. Both Beaulieu and Mauny were executed May 10, 1793. Beaulieu spent his last hours in writing three letters.

I

To HIS WIFE.

Be consoled, my very good lady and beloved—be consoled, I entreat you. I have a calmness and firmness of mind which are a great help to me at this moment. The greatest grief which I feel is the causing you grief. It is this which makes me beg you, as the last favour, to console yourself. Take care of yourself. You owe this to those of whom you are the mainstay. Share my adieux with the kind and dear Adelaïde. I might have been taken from you by illness or accident. Farewell. I embrace you from the bottom of my heart. I expected to have plenty of time to write to you. Adieu once more. Your beloved,

L. A. BEAULIEU.

Once more adieu. I love you ever with all my heart.

II

To CITOYENNE BECAGNY, Rue Liberté, 27, to whom I beg you to hand the watch-key.

My dear and kind friend, I embrace you for the last time. Accept all my gratitude for the trouble and vexations which I have caused you, and forgive them. I fear lest your interests should suffer from the 2000 f. which you lately sent me, and for which you have no receipt. I wish this to serve for one. I owe you also several sums on current account which may amount to 400 f. or 500 f. I acknowledge the debt. Kindly express my thanks to MM. Collot, Julianne, and Alexandre. I have not time to say more, as I did not begin to write till eight in the morning. I embrace you thousands of times, and am always to the last moment
your ever sincere friend, L. A. BEAULIEU.

III

To CITIZEN BEAULIEU FREVAL, Rue Tibotoni, No. 27.

Adieu, my friend. Thy consolation should be found in reason and philosophy. [Here he repeats some of the expressions in his second letter.] Remove from your mind this sad event, and remember only our days of intimacy. I might have been taken from you by illness or accident, and in time of war one is too happy in escaping. I might have had the misfortune of succumbing. Look at the event in this light. Adieu. I embrace thee thousands of times. Console all my friends. Speak to them of my friendship.—
Your brother and friend, L. A. BEAULIEU.

Enclosed are a letter and a watch-key, which thou wilt deliver to the same destination.

In the autumn of 1792 an association for organising an insurrection in Brittany in order to rescue Louis XVI. was formed by the marquis de la Rouerie, who, under the name of Colonel Armand, had fought for American independence from 1776 till the end of the war. He died, however, heart-broken by the news of the King's execution, and the rising was postponed or abandoned. But all the documents relating to it, concealed in a bottle buried in a garden,

were seized, through the treachery of a doctor named Chévetel, and on the 18th June 1793 twelve of the subscribers or adherents to the association were condemned to death. Five of these have left farewell letters. One of them, Françoise Desilles, aged 24, was cousin of la Rouerie, and wife of a naval officer who had quitted France. The letter is probably addressed to her sister-in-law, and she might have saved her life by revealing the fact that the name in the list of subscribers was not her own but that of the sister-in-law. When urged, however, by her counsel, for the sake of her children to explain the mistake, she replied, "My sister-in-law also is a mother."

IV

18th June 1793.

My lot is cast, dearest. Do not be grieved, but view the event with as much tranquillity as I do. It is not without regret that I quit an existence which promised me happy days. I have one favour to ask. You know what is the fate of my unfortunate children. Be a mother to them, dearest; let them find in you an affectionate and beloved mother. I am convinced of the zeal with which you will be their mother. Adieu, dear. I will not further prolong the time that I am spending in conversing with you. I have to approach the Supreme Being, at whose feet I cast myself. The resignation given me by the sweet persuasion that He will forgive me gives me joy. Speak of me to my children, but repel all bitterness. My trials are coming to an end, but yours will last. Adieu, dear. Cherish my memory, but do not lament my fate.

DESILLES DE LA FAUCHAIS.

I beg you, dear, to arrange with my sisters for the education of my children. They have no resource but you three, and it is to you three that I confide them to serve them as mother.

Jean Baptiste Georges Fontevieux, a native of Zweibrücken, a retired officer, aged 34, another of the Breton conspirators, living at St. Brieuc, employed his last moments in writing to his wife, father, mother, sister, his notary, a female friend, and the second letter that follows, addressed to three fellow-prisoners at the Abbaye. He also wrote to the Convention for a respite, that he might adduce

evidence to exculpate him, for the alleged conspiracy, he said, was imaginary. All these letters are written in a plain, firm hand.

V

*To CITOYENNE CAMBRY, Rue de la Révolution, No. 28, near the
ci-devant Place Louis XV., Paris.*

I approach, my friend, the terrible moment when I am to appear before the Supreme Being. I behold its coming without alarm. I may say with Essex—

“ C’est le crime qui fait la honte,
Ce n’est pas l’échafaud.”¹

Thou knowest the purity of the sentiments which have always animated me. Without lacking modesty I may say I have done all the good in my power. I have done ill to none. I regret my friends. I was attached to earth only by their affection, and I do not feel misfortune except on their account. I thank thee for the testimonies of friendship and consolation which thou hast furnished me, and the touching attentions which thou hast lavished on me during my captivity. I would fain testify my warm and affectionate gratitude. We shall be reunited sooner or later. The scythe of Time visits all heads, it levels all. I pity my judges. I forgive them with all my heart. I beg thee to console thyself. I conjure thee in the name of the warmest affection to preserve thy life. If ever thou chancest to think of me, remember that, as I die innocent, I am bound to be happy. I have not shed a tear for myself, but I have wept over the painful situation of my friends. It is they who are to be pitied, not I. Adieu, kind and affectionate friend; I embrace thee with all my heart. If thou shouldst see my uncle cheer him up; help him to bear the misfortunes attaching to human existence. Tell him that I loved him, love him still, and shall love him beyond the tomb.

Fontevieux.

VI

18th June 1793.

I have been this morning, dear companions in misfortune, condemned to death by the Revolutionary tribunal. The interest

¹ From a drama by Thomas Corneille. The proper reading is, “Le crime fait la honte, et non pas l’échafaud.”

which you have shown me and your desire to learn the judgment from my own lips induce me to inform you of it. Alas, you were far from thinking it would be this. May you fare better. Adieu, my friends. I am, and soon shall be, perfectly tranquil.

Fontevieux.

Nicolas Bernard Grout de la Motte, aged 50, a retired naval officer, was another of the Breton conspirators.

VII

To CITIZEN FOUQUIER-TINVILLE.

18th June 1793.

Citizen, I beg you to allow my ring and a case with portraits of my late wife and of my daughter to be restored to two young children whom I leave. It is a small favour which I ask you, and it will be a portion of my property which could not be of any use to the nation.¹ These young children are at St. Malo. . . . Will you allow my linen to be given to the citizen gendarme?

GROUT DE LA MOTTE.

Three quarto pages are so closely filled by the following letter as to leave no room for the signature, but the address shows the writer to have been Georges Julien Jean Vincent, aged 48, broker and interpreter at St. Malo, also one of the Breton conspirators.

VIII

To CITOYENNE BINEL VINCENT, *Rue de Toulouse, St. Malo.*

18th June 1793.

There are decrees of Divine Providence, my beloved, kind, and affectionate friend, which, however terrible to bear, we ought to accept and submit to without a murmur. Thou knowest better than I, and I have no need to remind thee, all that religion commands thee, and all the consolations which it can give thee. Alas, what a terrible blow I am about to inflict on thy tender and generous heart, and how my poor and beloved children are about to be grieved! But, my dearest, collect all your strength. Pray do

¹ All the property of guillotined persons was confiscated.

not be cast down by misfortune. My innocence and honour should help you to bear your misfortune. God had joined us together. I possessed an affectionate and virtuous wife who was my comfort. Perhaps, alas, I was too proud of the happiness which I possessed, and God's will deprives me of it. Worthy and affectionate wife, if I ever vexed thee I beg thee to forgive me. I shall die worthy of thy love, and if after this unfortunate life we can still preserve some recollection of persons who have been dear to us in this world, I shall carry beyond the tomb the deep affection which I have devoted to thee as well as to my dear children. Oh, affectionate and beloved wife, if ever I have been dear to thee, I conjure thee by all our affection to continue living ; our beloved children have so much need of thee. Embrace them very affectionately for me. Tell them all the affection which I have always had for them. Tell them that if my death unhappily deprives them not only of the most affectionate father, but of the little property which they might claim, I die innocent and leave them honour, the most precious property ; and not only that, but they can hold their heads erect in such a fashion as to make their father's death a glory as an innocent victim of the law. Beware, my dearest, lest sorrow for my death should render them ungrateful towards their country. It is not the country which is the cause of the misfortunes which overwhelm us. Men are liable to error, and at a moment when passions blind us, innocence is often mistaken for guilt. As good and faithful Christians, we must know how to bear the blows which befall us and adore the divine hand which overwhelms us. Oh, my dear children, console your worthy and affectionate mother, and by your assiduity in obeying her counsels, as well as in fulfilling the duties of your religion, be the consolation of her agony. I embrace you, my dear good Republican friends. I pray God for you, and thou, dear and affectionate wife, receive my last kisses and adieux. Remember me only to beseech God to pardon my sins and have pity on my soul. I cannot say more. Words fail me at this sad and cruel moment, in which, however, I do not regret life except for the pain which my death is about to inflict on thy heart. But, my dearest, do not give way to grief. Respect the decrees of Divine Providence. We were not fated to remain for ever on this poor earth, and we certainly knew when we married that death would part us. God has fixed the moment and manner. Let us therefore submit without a murmur to His will. Adieu, dear and worthy spouse. Adieu, loving and beloved children. Receive my

affectionate kisses, and Heaven grant that you may be more fortunate than your unfortunate father, who dies innocent and without self-reproach.

There is no signature also to the following letter, but the writer was probably Michel Julien Picot de Limoelan, brother-in-law to la Rouerie, still another of the Breton conspirators.

IX

To CITIZEN VENDEL, Maison de la Trinité, Fougères.

18th June [1793].

I shall be near the Eternal, my friend, when you receive this letter. I hope the forgiveness of my enemies will procure that of my faults, my crimes, toward Him; for the frequent forgetfulness of His benefits is doubtless one which could not be too dearly expiated, and the sacrifice of some years is not a great thing for him who knows how to estimate life at its true value. The sentence of death could not trouble me, for all the tribulations that I have experienced since my arrest have sufficiently disgusted me with life. . . . Adieu, my poor friend. Do not forget me. I die with confidence, and almost with joy. At what a grand banquet I shall be present this evening! My beloved, I shall await you. Your virtues call you thither. I had no cause for self-reproach toward men. I have never had any sentiments but those of humanity. I sincerely desire the happiness of those who conduct me to the tomb, but toward God, my friend, I was not so guiltless. I loved Him, but I served Him ill. I trust He will forgive me. Let not my friends weep over my happiness. We shall soon meet again. Convey my respects to them. Adieu, my unfortunate friend. I have taken every possible precaution to forward you the remainder of the assignats which you lent me.

Claude François Berger, aged 64, farmer, of the Nièvre, was convicted on the 13th September 1793 of having written, though he had shown them to nobody, papers expressing indignation against the regicides. His wife had apparently accompanied him on his mission to Paris from his native department.

X

To CITOYENNE BERGER, Paris.

Adieu, my dear daughter, adieu for ever. I am condemned for having, it is said, fomented and excited a counter-revolution. I never thought of so doing, but the truth is that I am a Catholic, and that I have shown too strong an attachment to the religion of our fathers. Bless and praise God for all. I commend myself to thy prayers and those of our friends, whom I shall never see again except in Eternity. I am about to appear there in a few hours. God grant me mercy, and forgive my innumerable sins, as I forgive with all my heart my judges, who have evidently been mistaken in convicting me of a crime which was never in my thoughts. God forgive also my enemies, who are the cause of my arrest and death. Console thy poor mother, my dear children. Support her in her old age and in the terrible affliction which will befall her. Let her take her misfortune to the foot of the Cross, and leave herself to the guidance of Divine Providence, ever just and adorable, however terrible. I again beg thee to care for the old age of thy mother, and to entreat thy brothers and sisters to sustain and console her as far as they can. . . . I ask my poor wife's pardon for the vexations which I may have caused her. Let her forgive me, and remember me always in her prayers. I forgive thy eldest brother the vexations which he has caused me, especially by his marriage. God forgive him ! I forgive also thy eldest and youngest sisters the vexations which they have caused me by their disobedience, and their disregard for me and their mother. God grant them sincere repentance ! Let them repair their faults by redoubled affection and submission towards their poor mother, my beloved and afflicted spouse, whom I embrace for the last time with all my heart. I embrace Nanette, my dear daughter. Let her continue to care for her poor mother. God will recompense her. I pray to Him and shall pray to Him in Heaven if He has pity on my poor soul, as I implore and hope from His infinite mercy through the precious blood of His Son, our Lord. I die on a Friday, the day consecrated to His passion and death. My children, never forget your father in your prayers, and entreat all our friends to pray for me. Never forget your duties to your mother, to God, and to the country. I embrace thee again. I am now about to prepare for death by resignation to the will of God. Wish no ill to those who have instigated my death, and never try to avenge it. That of Jesus

Christ is not yet avenged. I am innocent, moreover, of what is imputed to me, and am firmly persuaded that unsigned writings seemed to deserve punishment. No matter, dearest. I am resigned to the will of the Most High, who has thus permitted me to expiate here below my horrible sins, and in whose mercy I trust. Adieu, my dear daughter, adieu. Heaven bless thee, and fill thee with its grace, the only true good.

CONCIERGERIE, 13th September 1793, 3.15 P.M.

Jeanne Charlotte de Rutant, aged 22, a native of Lorraine, was convicted on the 5th October 1793 of correspondence with the enemies of the Republic. She had written to an *émigré* relative in sympathetic ink, and had expressed desires for the success of the invaders. The letter, unsigned, but traced to her, had been intercepted. She was first imprisoned at Nancy, as also was her father, who, though in close confinement, heard that she was about to be sent to Paris for trial. He drew up, and his wife printed, an address to the local authorities in which he protested against her removal to Paris, but in that case begged permission to accompany her, either as co-accused or as adviser and comforter. The appeal was unavailing. The subjoined letter is addressed to her husband.

XI

To CITIZEN ANDRÉ RUTANT, *Rue Sicile, Paris.*

14 Vendémiaire, year 2.

Courage, dearest, and encourage your unfortunate parents. Be all consoled, but do not forget me. Thou, dearest, still more than my other relatives, whom I have offended, forgive, I beg thee, all that may have annoyed thee in my conduct. I have up to this moment fully expiated those wrongs, if anything can expiate them. I hope that my hair will be given thee, which would not have been touched by the executioner if I could have imagined that there was a man like the public prosecutor, who alone is responsible for my death; but as God, that Omnipotent whom I implore for all my friends, will one day judge him, I forgive him; at least I hope so. I trust that my excellent, my most affectionate sister, will not remain long in this city. I count on her presence for mitigating the grief

of my incomparable father. Thou also, my beloved, thou wilt be near him at this cruel moment. I constantly think of him when he will learn my fate ; but whatever grief all whom I leave in the world makes me feel, the Supreme Being sustains my courage. I hope that He will not fail me. I implore Him for you all, my friends. Divide my hair, my beloved ones, and do not forget me except when the recollection will be too painful. Farewell ! I beg my friends to testify my gratitude to citizen Chauveau.¹ Those of my fellow-citizens who were present at my trial seemed to take an interest in the unfortunate accused. I hope there will be no resentment against him for having consented to undertake the defence of an unfortunate being very grateful for the interest which he accorded her.

At 10 o'clock on Sunday night, the 2nd June 1793, the Convention, under the coercion of a Jacobin mob, excluded thirty-two members from its deliberations, and ordered that they should be under arrest at their own houses. On the 28th July St. Just reported that Gorsas and fifteen others had escaped from Paris, whereupon nine of the remainder were thrown into prison. Among these was Armand Gensonné, a Bordeaux lawyer, 35 years of age, who had been a prominent figure in the Convention, one of Paine's eight colleagues on the Constitution Committee, a strenuous opponent of royalty, but also a strenuous opponent of Jacobinism. On the 19th August Marc David Lasource, aged 39, was likewise arrested. These deputies were at first confined at the Luxembourg, where detention was of a mild character, but on the 8th September they were transferred to the Conciergerie, literally and figuratively the vestibule of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Thence Lasource, on the 14th, applied for the arrears of his 18 francs a day parliamentary stipend, failing to obtain which he wrote to his wife for 5000 francs. She raised that sum, and remitted it by bill of exchange to Pérèz, a fellow-deputy, for him to deliver it to her husband. By this time, however, it had been decided that Lasource and twenty-one of his

¹ Chauveau-Lagarde, one of the barristers assigned for the defence of prisoners. He was himself arrested on the 1st July and imprisoned till the 10th August.

colleagues should be brought to trial. Pérèz detained the money, pending the result of the trial, and it was ultimately confiscated, along with Lasource's other possessions. The trial commenced on the 24th October, and seemed likely to be lengthy; but on the 28th the Convention decreed that juries of the Revolutionary Tribunal might at any time, when sufficiently enlightened, cut short the proceedings. Accordingly, the prisoners' defence was suppressed, and at ten at night on the 30th, after three hours' deliberation by the jury, the twenty-two deputies were condemned. How Nodier fabricated an account of their "last supper" and conversation, and how Lamartine added further embellishments, need not be told. The truth is that they were shut up in groups in their cells, able to sing in unison, but not to hold high converse on human destiny. We have tangible, and till now unpublished, evidence of how two of them employed at least a few minutes of that last night and morning. Gensonné wrote farewells to his father and wife, and Lasource one to his wife. Here are the letters :—

XII

To CITIZEN GENSONNÉ, care of CITIZEN LACAZE, Libourne.

CONCIERGERIE, 31st October 1793, or 10th day of the
2nd month of the second year of the Republic.

My very dear father, receive the last embraces of an affectionate son, who has constantly honoured your rare virtues and has loved you every moment of his life. It is in the presence of death, which in a few hours will cut off the remainder of a life entirely devoted to professing the sentiments of an honest man, that I declare I carry away with me a pure heart, a conscience without reproach. Tell this to my children. Tell them of my love for them. Teach them to be devoted to the country and to love liberty, the only blessing to which a Frenchman can aspire. I commend them to your paternal goodwill and kindness. I press in my arms my affectionate mother, all the family, and all my friends. Having discharged this duty, so dear to my heart, I go to death with the calmness and serenity which

crime would never have possessed. My memory will not be sullied. It is impossible for men to deprive me of it. These are the sentiments which I express to you, and which should console your old age. Adieu, my respected and most beloved of fathers. Adieu.

XIII

To CITOYENNE GENSONNÉ, Hotel Necker, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

Adieu, my beloved. Love me in our children, and preserve the recollection of a man whom thou hast made happy, and whose thoughts to his last moment will be of thee. I charge thee to bestow on my mother the care which I can no longer offer her. Adieu.

XIV

To CITOYENNE LASOURCE, Cambon, Tarn.

1st November [this is cancelled
and 31st October substituted], morning.

I beg my dear wife, whom I embrace with all my heart, to pay to citizen Thierry, the general prison doctor, the sum of 300 f. for the attentions which he has been good enough to bestow on me, and 100 f. to citizen Coupé, the prison surgeon. I beg her also to pay 26 f. to citizen Dugard, Protestant minister in the Saintonge country. Citizen Laroque will inform her of the address of the latter. I repeat to my dear wife my gratitude for all the expense which she has incurred for me. I embrace her once more.

Antoine Joseph Gorsas, aged 40, had preceded his colleagues to the tomb. Imprudently returning to Paris after failing to excite a Girondin rising at Caen and Bordeaux, he was recognised by a passer-by while talking to a friendly bookseller's wife in the Palais Royal, was arrested, and being an outlaw was executed without trial, on the simple proof of identity by three co-tenants of his house. He was attended to the scaffold by a constitutional priest, whom he embraced.

XV

To CITIZEN FOUQUIER-TINVILLE.*7th October [1793].*

Before dying, I desire that my creditors whose bills are unsettled should not be losers. I declare that I owe [three debts mentioned]. I recommend this note to the citizen public accuser. I beg him in the name of justice to pay these sums.¹ My hope that he will be good enough to do it will be a feeling of gratitude which I shall take away with me. My unfortunate family are prosecuted. If I had committed crimes, let me alone bear the responsibility. My family are not guilty. Will not my death satisfy public justice? I end by affirming that never have I betrayed my country, and that my last wishes are for its happiness and for its enjoyment of rest and happiness after so many long agitations.

A. J. GORSAS.

P.S.—I may have other debts of which I am ignorant. I acknowledge them also.

There is nothing to show that Fouquier carried out these last wishes, but it is satisfactory to reflect that the Convention not only on the 13th October 1795 celebrated the memory of these and other "martyrs of liberty," but ordered payment to their widows or families of the 18 francs a day stipend up to its own dissolution. Lasource's wife had apparently died, but his mother in April 1797 received a pension. Marie Madelaine Roudier, Madame Gorsas, left destitute with three young children, on the 1st February 1794—that is to say, even during the Terror—had been awarded 300 francs by the Convention, but it is lamentable to find that this was a kind of reward for her disclaimer of her husband's opinions. On Christmas Day 1793 she sent in a petition in which, asking that his printing plant might be assigned to her as dower or personal property, she said:—

Reduced with her family to the greatest straits, doomed to regrets which will end only with her life, without her having in any way shared the opinions and errors of her husband, who,

¹ Of course out of the money due to Gorsas as a deputy.

too much attached to his opinion, carefully concealed it even from his wife, well knowing that she would not entertain it; deprived of his affection and confidence, she hopes the fathers of the people will consider both the past afflictions of her life and the misfortunes which threaten her, if the law which has punished her husband entails on her the deprivation of the rights which the national laws allowed her to claim, and the faculty of obtaining from your commiseration the means of subsistence and of bringing up her unfortunate family.¹

In May 1796 she received a pension of 2000 francs, as also did the widows of Buzot, Barbaroux, Pétion, and Bailly. She continued or revived her husband's printing business, published the second part of Paine's "Age of Reason," and in 1799 started a newspaper called the *Grondeur*.

Olympe de Gouges, born at Montauban in 1784, is believed to have been the daughter of the Marquis Franc de Pompignan, a versifier. Her mother, Olympe or Olinde Mousset, was the wife of Pierre Gouze, a butcher. After a marriage in 1765 with a man named Aubry, which soon ended in a separation, Olympe went up to Paris, and, though never able to spell or to write a decent hand, published several plays. She threw herself with ardour into the Revolution, and was a strenuous advocate of woman's rights, saying, "Woman is entitled to mount the scaffold, she should also be entitled to mount the tribune." She offered to defend Louis XVI. in order to prove, not his innocence, but his imbecility. Her tirades against Robespierre at last led to her arrest, and after seven months' imprisonment she was tried, and guillotined on the 3rd November 1793. Her son, to whom she addressed an ill-written and ill-spelt letter, wrote, on being dismissed from the army, to the Convention to repudiate all sympathy with his mother's opinions. The only excuse for his act is that he cannot have known of her having written to him, or of the letter to the Convention entreating news of him. His

¹ C. 289.

wife, more affectionate, visited her in prison. Olympe's papers were in 1796 restored to her mother.

XVI

To the PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

I am condemned to death for having, alas, idolised the revolution, and I do not complain. May my enemies forgive themselves this crime, just as I forgive them. Ill, without counsel, I had only my innocence to support me. Alas, I do not ask you to annul this incredible condemnation. I have been for some days by unequivocal signs *enceinte*. Without doubt my grief and the persecution which I have experienced will not allow me to reach my delivery, but I shall at least have the pleasure before my last hour of receiving news of my son. He is in our republican armies, especially in that of the Rhine, as a general officer. I ask the Convention, in the name of nature and of a being ferociously precipitated into the tomb, to give me news of that son in the prison where I am cast so as to be dead to the world of the living. I cannot receive news except through the Convention itself. It will not refuse me at least this act of humanity for all the services which I have rendered to the country, the people, and liberty, which my sentence of death is about to immortalise.

OLYMPE DEGOUGE.

XVII

To CITIZEN DE GOUGE, *General Officer in the Army of the Rhine.*

I die, my dear son, a victim of my idolatry of justice and of the people. Its enemies, under the specious mask of republicanism, have conducted me without remorse to the scaffold. After seven months of captivity I was transferred to a *maison de santé*,¹ where I was as free as in my own house. I might have escaped. My enemies and executioners are aware of this, but, convinced that the ill-will concerted to ruin me could not succeed in reproaching me with a single act contrary to the Revolution, I myself asked for trial. Could I believe that unmuzzled tigers would themselves be judges, against the law, against that popular assembly which will soon

¹ Private hospital.

reproach them with my death? The indictment was delivered to me three days before my trial. The law entitled me to counsel. All the persons of my acquaintance have been intercepted. I was, as it were, in solitary confinement, not being even able to speak to the concierge. The law also entitled me to select my jurors. The list of them was announced to me at midnight, and next morning at seven o'clock I was taken to the tribunal, ill and weak, and without having the art of speaking in public. Resembling Jean Jacques [Rousseau] in his virtues, I felt all my insufficiency. I asked for the counsel whom I had chosen. I was told he was not present, or had refused to undertake my cause. Failing him, I asked for another. I was told I was quite able to defend myself. Without doubt I have strength enough to defend my innocence, which is self-evident to all spectators. It was impossible to dispute all the services and benefits which I have rendered to the people. Twenty times I made my executioners turn pale, not knowing how to answer me. At every sentence which showed my innocence and their bad faith. . . . They pronounced my doom for fear of exposure of the iniquity of which the world has not had sufficient examples. Adieu, my son, I shall be no more when thou receivest this letter. . . . I die, my son, my dear son, I die innocent. All the laws have been violated against the most virtuous woman of her age. [She then tells him where to find the pawn-ticket for her jewels.]

OLYMPE DEGOUGE.

Guillaume Antoine Lemoine, 37, farmer, outlawed on the 6th August as a member of the Girondin commission at Bordeaux, was executed without trial on simple identification on the 2nd November 1793.

XVIII

To CITIZEN LAFON, Hôtel de Versailles, Paris.

Courage, my friend, courage. My dear Duhayet, I am condemned, and am about immediately to march to the scaffold. Care for my father, to whom I do not write. Be his solace. Do not quit him for a moment, and hasten all of you to Bordeaux to console my sister, whom I beg you to bid farewell for me. Testify to my father my sense of all his goodness to me. Tell him that proud of my innocence I die calm, and with the courage which has never abandoned me. I hope that my punishment will appease the

Almighty, who doubtless wished to punish me in this world for my faults, and we shall meet again one day in a blessed eternity. Watch especially over dear papa. Try and mitigate the bitterness with which my punishment will load him. His goodness, his sensibility, ensures that he will never forget a son who loves as greatly as he respects him. Care also for my sister. You know how dear she is to me. Adieu, my friend, and do not forget me. Your good friend and brother,

LEMOINE.

Marie Madeleine Coutelet, aged 32, was forewoman at the flax-spinning factory established in the Jacobin monastery in July 1790 to give employment to women and girls. Her sister, who occupied the room above her, having been denounced as corresponding with *émigrés*, the commissaries sent with a search warrant went by mistake to Madeleine's room. She informed them of their blunder, but invited them to search her apartment. They found a letter addressed to her aunt at Rheims, but never posted, expressing sympathy for the Queen. Her explanation was that though really a "patriot" she wrote the letter in joke, to mystify a friend to whom alone she showed it. She was condemned on the 4th November 1793. Her sister, Marie Louise Neuvéglise, shared the same fate on the 23rd April 1794.

XIX

I discharge my last duty. You know that the law has judged me. They have found crime in innocence, and it is thus that they sentence me to die. I hope that you will be consoled. It is the last favour which I ask. I die with the purity of soul of those who die with joy. Adieu. Receive my last embrace. It is that of the most affectionate daughter and most attached sister. I regard this day as the finest that I have been granted by the Supreme Being. Live and think of me. Rejoice at the bliss which awaits me. I embrace my friends (*amies*), and am grateful to those who gave testimony for me. Adieu for the last time. May your children be happy! It is my last wish.

COULETEL.

Madeleine Françoise Joséphine Dorabec, aged 35, widow of Paul Pierre Kolly, was convicted on the 3rd May 1793,

together with her husband and her lover, of complicity in the conspiracy in Brittany, but pleaded pregnancy, and was respited and left unnoticed till the following November, when Olympe de Gouge, on her own plea of pregnancy being rejected, said "Madame Kolly, who has confessed to me that she is not pregnant, has been more fortunate than I." Thereupon Madame Kolly, after a fruitless appeal to the Convention, was executed. She left two sons by her first husband, Foucand, the elder twelve years of age, and a third, five years old, by her second, Paul de Kolly, a revenue farmer. They were with her in prison, but found an adoptive father in "citoyen Ferrière," the General Security Committee handing them over to him in order to rescue them from "the vices of prisons."¹

XX

To CITOYENNE MOYROUD, Rue St. Dominique, Lyons.

5th November [1793].

My dear mother, of whom I have long heard nothing, if the misfortunes which have happened in our town have left you still alive, receive my last farewells. I am about to rejoin the unfortunate victim of my sad fate, and to quit for ever this land of suffering. You have adopted my children. I again commend them to you. I wish them to join you, for they have no longer anybody on the face of the earth. Receive my best thanks for the assistance which you have kindly sent me. I carry gratitude with me to the tomb. When you read this I shall be no more. I shall no longer have to endure the ills of this painful life. Encourage and console my children. Alas, they lose a good mother. Replace me with them. I have seen our [female] cousin here. She sends them to you, or to your sister if you are no longer at Lyons. Love them; they deserve to be loved. Let her never forget me, nor you and our dear children. Remember me to your dear eldest daughter. Thank her if she will adopt one of them. Divide them all three among you. Farewell. Receive the testimony of unbounded affection, which will end only with my sad existence.

Gabriel Nicolas François Boisguyon, aged thirty-five,

¹ A.F. ii. p. 286.

adjutant-general, admitted having gone to the Girondin gathering at Caen, but denied having offered to join the Girondin forces. He was tried and executed along with Girey-Dupré, who on his way to the scaffold sang his own verses, afterwards styled the "Chant des Girondins," the refrain of which was,

"Mourons pour la patrie,
C'est le sort le plus beau, le plus digne d'envie."

XXI

To CITIZEN FRÉMONT, Druggist, Châteaudun.

CONCIERGERIE, 2 *Frimaire*, year 2.

Citizen, I was yesterday at four in the afternoon condemned to death, and in two hours I shall be no more. I beg you to inform my mother, taking all the precautions necessary for rendering the news less overwhelming. Send some one to her gently to apprise her, so that she may not receive the information by letter, and may not have under her eyes a monument [*sic*] reminding her of my last moments. Assure her of all my affection, and of my hope that she may find in her virtues the consolation which she will need. [Some business directions follow.]

BOISGUYON.

Claude Antoine Cappon-Chateauthierry, 71, brigadier-general, was convicted on the 23rd November 1793 of ineffectually urging his troops, on the 20th June 1792, to defend the Tuileries against the mob.

XXII

To CITOYENNE CAPPON, Paris.

Sunday morning, 24th November.

The law, my dear daughter, enters into possession of the little property which I possess, but you have rights as a creditor. . . . There remains to me great regret for having accepted army contracts. Forget an unfortunate father, who loved you and loved his country, and who has met death in wishing to serve it, through the atrocious calumny of some soldiers of the regiment which he commanded, who have prevailed against the certificate of all the

regiment which contradicted them, as well as the witnesses. Care for thy health. Behold a last expression of attachment and tenderness.

In October 1793 a piece of water in the park of an ex-minister of finance, Jean Charles Clément Laverdy, aged 70, at Gambais, was found full of mud, containing a few grains of wheat. The mud was alleged to be decomposed wheat, and Laverdy was accused of conspiring to produce a famine. He had been absent from the place for two or three weeks, and the piece of water was accessible to the public, while the grains of wheat had evidently been blown in by the wind. His wife, on his arrest, vainly demanded a chemical analysis of the mud. On the 24th November 1793 Laverdy was condemned. He was asked by the judge what property he possessed, and he gave the particulars, the total being 1,400,000 francs. His wealth probably conduced to his sentence. A member of the Academy of Inscriptions, he was a good classical scholar, and the commissary who arrested him found him translating Horace.

XXIII

To CITOYENNE VEUVE LABUISSE, Rue Guénégaud, 26, Paris.

Adieu for ever, my beloved daughter, adieu my beloved wife, adieu for my other daughter, adieu for all my grandchildren. I die innocent and calumniated, but perfectly resigned to my fate. I have had no priest. God will supply the place of one. Pray for me, and I will pray for you. Preserve the memory of an unfortunate father, who was not culpable but unfortunate.

4 Frimaire (24th November).

Gabriel Wormestelle, aged 43, the writer of an ill-spelt but firmly written letter, was a member of the Gironde popular commission, which tried to resist the measures enforced on the Convention by the Paris mob. Having been consequently outlawed, he was executed without trial. His widow was still living in 1825.

XXIV

To CITOYENNE WORMESTELLE, Rue du Temple, No. 1, Bordeaux.

12 *Frimaire* (2nd December) 1793.

These are the last lines which my hand will trace. In a few hours I shall be no more. I am condemned to death. Well, wife whom I have always loved, I die still full of affection for thee. I do not bid thee to forget me. I know thy *belle âme*, thy affectionate heart. No, thou wilt never forget me. But live for our poor children. Remind them of me. Let me serve as their example. Let them be better than I. Rear them in the practice of virtue. My property is confiscated. It is so small that it will be no great loss for thee. Bring them up to like work. Transfer to them all the affection which thou hadst for me. Adieu,—a thousand times adieu. Spare thy tears, and think only of our children.

WORMESTELLE.

Étienne Pierre Gorneau, 20, clerk at the ministry of the Interior, was condemned on the 3rd December 1793 for anti-revolutionary correspondence, viz. a letter in which he ridiculed two deputies for parading in their plumes and scarves. He had also copied a parody of the "Marseillaise."

XXV

To CITIZEN GORNEAU, Cloître St. Merri, 452, Paris.

My dear papa and my dear parents, I offer you my last adieux. My sole regret on quitting life is to be unable to embrace you. I have no other tie. He who has never known crime, who has been kind, humane, feeling, and generous, dies with calmness. I hope that my labours have served to consolidate the Republic. I have constantly desired the welfare of my country. I have abhorred despotism and adored liberty. To-day I am the victim of an inconsistency, an imprudence committed at the age of twenty, and I die without fear. I hoped, in concert with my elder brother, to be the stay of the old age of dear parents who have brought us up with the greatest care, and shown the tenderest affection during our childhood. I am frustrated of this hope, but thou, true brother, sincere friend, be in my default the intrepid defender of the rights

of humanity. Be careful to serve thy country. . . . Mamma must feel my loss greatly. Let her know that I am calm at meeting death. . . . I go from a prison, which is a preparation for an eternal act. I was cooped up there with forty poor devils, all expecting the same fate. I do not know whether to believe presentiments, but I dreamt several times of my affair [trial], which I expected when I found myself suddenly transferred to St. Pélagie. I wish my father to preserve this letter for his descendants, to remind them that I existed, and that I perished a victim to my opinions, the 14th *Frimaire*, 4th December 1793, old style, year 2 of the French republic, between noon and one o'clock, on the Place de la Révolution. Once more adieu *ad vitam æternam*, father, mother, brothers, sister, uncles, aunts, kinsmen, cousins, who are dear to me, and whose acquaintance is more mischievous on account of the friendship which we have contracted.

Antoine Pierre Léon Dufrene, aged 32, doctor, had recently arrived from St. Domingo. He wrote to his friends there that in exchanging that island, with its negro risings, for Paris, he had gone from Scylla to Charybdis, and in one letter he said, "It is impossible to say or write anything without risk of the guillotine." Again he said, "There would be many things to tell you of the present state of France, but I shall not venture on anything, and you will guess the reason. However nice the guillotine when you accommodate yourself to it, and whatever the courage thus far shown by the heroes of this Revolutionary invention, I have no mind to try it." But the unfortunate man had committed himself by these intercepted letters. The enclosure to Le Fourdray is the only farewell utterance resembling a malediction which I have met with.

XXVI

Receive, oh adorable spouse, the last wishes of thy poor husband. He was not so good as thou art. . . . Write to me once more, that I may carry to the tomb a line from thy chaste hand. I end. My tears water my letter. Calm thine. Send me 15 f. I have handed 60 f. to Jaline, which he will doubtless deliver

to thee. Thank him for me, as well as all my friends. . . . I shall be at the Conciergerie till ten or eleven to-morrow morning. Adieu, adieu, adieu, and for ever adieu for eternity.—Thy husband,

13 *Frimaire*.

DUFRENE.

[Enclosure.]

To CITIZEN LE FOURDRAY, *Commissary of Marine, Cherbourg*.

Receive, wretch, my eternal adieu. I do not know whether thou didst it purposely. Although I know that thou art a scoundrel, I cannot bring myself to think thee so malicious. All that I can say to thee is that the letters which I had confided to thee have conducted me to the scaffold. If it was through malice, thy turn will soon come. Adieu.

DUFRENE.

13 *Frimaire* 1793.

Guillaume Léonard, omitted in M.^r Wallon's *Histoire du Tribunal Révolutionnaire*, was a wineshop-keeper at Paris, condemned for uttering forged *assignats*.

XXVII

To CITOYENNE LÉONARD, *Wineseller, Paris*.

My dearest, I bid thee farewell with tears in my eyes. I am condemned to die to-morrow, and I die innocently, without having ever committed any crime. I forgive thee all that there has been of contention with thy parents, and I hope with confidence that thou wilt do the same. Write immediately to my parents, and inform them that I die for our country in the company of wretches,¹ yet without having been criminal. I have not in all my life committed any crime. I embrace thee with tears in my eyes, and shall be thy husband to my last hour. Thou knowest that I owe 5 f. to Citizen Maudit, who lent it me on the day of my arrest. Do not be ashamed to announce my death to my parents. I have known how to live, and I shall know how to die. Adieu, dearest, and for the last time I write to thee, and am,—Thy husband,

LÉONARD.

PARIS, 19 *Frimaire*, year 2 of the French Republic, and Vive la République !

¹ Six fraudulent army clothiers.

Charles Antoine Pinard, tailor, was executed as a fraudulent army contractor.

XXVIII

To CITOYENNE PRÉVOST, Rue de l'Oratoire, 141.

19 *Frimaire*, year 2.

My dearest, when thou receivest this letter thy *bon ami* will be no more. I should have preferred death in fighting for the defence of the country, but this has not been allowed me. I undergo my fate, and I carry to the tomb the tranquillity of a conscience without reproach. Be ever faithful, my dearest, to what thou hast promised me. Spare thyself for thy own sake, and for the infant whom thou bearest in thy bosom. Girl or boy, bring it up in the principles of the Republic. Be always prudent and virtuous, the same as thou hast ever been. Farewell: thy image is before my heart; let mine be before thine. Never forget thy friend. Spare thyself, and tell thy son or daughter that its father died like a true Republican. Embrace my parents. I love them ever.

PINARD.

Antoine Demachy, grocer, and commissary of one of the Paris sections, was condemned 26 *Frimaire*, year 2, for complicity with fraudulent army contractors.

XXIX

To CITIZEN DEMACHY, Grocer, Rue St. Jacques, Paris.

Brother, I write you this at the moment when I am about to end my days. I hope that my example may serve you as a guide in this Revolution. [Here he mentions two debts.] I embrace you, and wish you all possible happiness.

DEMACHY.

Jacques Serpaud, 56, barrister, and steward to the duc de Montmorency, was condemned on the 15th December 1793 for writing and sending money to the duke, whose cashier and concierge were likewise condemned.

XXX

To CITOYENNE SERPAUD.

Thy poor father is about to die with all the courage of which he is capable. Pity, my dear daughter, his fate less than thine own.

Live happy, and take care that thou deservest to be so. I implore for thee the kindness of thy friends, whom I embrace for the last time.

16th December 1793. My companions in misfortune offer thee their last adieux.

Amable Augustin Clément, 33, watchmaker, Paris, was condemned on the 27th December 1793 for assisting as a national guard in the dispersion of the mob in the Champ de Mars, 17th July 1791. Struck by a stone, he had fired in the air.

XXXI [*No address.*]

I have lived 32 years, 8 months, and 20 days. Behold the reward for serving my country since the 14th July 1789. I hope to undergo my trial with the firmness which I have always shown on all occasions since the Revolution, unless my strength fails me. I beg those who read this last melancholy writing to pity an unfortunate who dies for having obeyed, and that without knowing what he was doing. I declare my chiefs to be as innocent as myself, but it will be acknowledged too late that I did not deserve such a fate. One of the same battalion, a victim like me (his name is Barrois), accompanies me to the scaffold, but it is the theatre of honour when one dies for his country.

Given the 27th December at 7.30 morning. Immortal in the heart of his friend (*amie*), it is not to cease to be when one dies for his country, and my last word shall be thy beloved name.

That notorious *roué*, generally known as the duc de Lauzun, though in 1788 he inherited his uncle's superior title of duc de Biron, was condemned on New Year's Eve 1793. His posthumous memoirs, although disavowed by the family, were genuine, having, it is said, been copied by a mistress of Artois (Charles X.), who had lent her the manuscript for twenty-four hours. Lauzun assisted in the war of American independence, but though an old courtier accepted the Republic, and served in the army in Vendée. He disliked, however, the Jacobin officers placed under him, and quarrelled with Rossignol. He was deprived of

his command July 11, 1793, and put on trial, with ten witnesses against and four for him. The case not being concluded on the 9th Nivôse, the court sat again on the 10th, though *décadi* was usually a *dies non*. On leaving for the scaffold he said to his fellow-prisoners, "I am starting on the long journey." He pressed a glass of wine on the executioner, saying, "You must need nerve in your business." Fouquier-Tinville, whose verdict must for once be accepted, described him as having "abjured his king, his class, and his religion." He had for many years been separated from his wife, Amélie de Boufflers, who was executed on the 26th June 1794, through a kind of mistake, for Fouquier had intended only to slaughter the dowager duchesse de Biron, Lauzun's aunt by marriage, but being told there were two duchesses he ordered both to be tried. Accordingly the dowager, aged 71, and the junior duchess, aged 48, were condemned together. In a farewell letter, not to his wife, but to his aged father, the duc de Gontaut, who survived till 1800, to the age of 95, Lauzun, otherwise so despicable, shows a kindly interest in his dependents.

XXXII

TO CITIZEN GONTAUT.

I am condemned. I shall die to-morrow in the sentiments of religion, of which my dear papa has set me the example, and which are worthy of him. My long agony derived much consolation from the certainty that my dear papa will not give way to grief of any kind. . . . I have two Englishwomen who have been with me twenty years, and who have been detained as prisoners since the decree on foreigners.¹ I was their only resource. I commend them to the succour and extreme kindness of my dear papa, whom I love. I respect and embrace him for the last time with all my heart.

BIRON.

On the 7th January 1794 Catherine Bedtinger, wife of La Violette, was condemned for dealings with the enemy.

¹ On the seizure of Toulon, all the English in France were arrested as hostages.

Her husband had been in business as a draper at Courtrai, and had, like her, welcomed the French as liberators. When the latter evacuated Belgium in March 1793 she was advised to settle at Lille, and she took some of her property with her. Hearing that what remained behind was in jeopardy, she went back to recover it, taking with her letters of recommendation from a friend, Joseph Mandrillon, to the Duke of Brunswick and Prince Frederic of Prussia. On her return she was arrested, as also Mandrillon, and both were condemned.

XXXIII

To CITIZEN LA VIOLETTE, Hôtel Grange Batelière, Paris.

I have just been condemned to death, my children—you know my innocence. Nobody, it seems to me, has come [to demonstrate it]. You have sent to Danton, with your unfortunate father. Try to preserve the life of thy innocent mother. I shall spend the night in writing to you. Adieu, friends, to-morrow you will hear of me. I write this to you in order not to lose time, Be calm. I am so. My dear Angélique is acquitted.¹ Go to the National Assembly. Say how innocent I am.

Enclosed was an appeal to the Convention for a respite to give the opportunity of proving innocence. It said :—

Separated for a year from my beloved family by the jealousy incited in my husband, I was groaning without complaint under injustice. The moment of my acquittal was to restore me to his arms. I impatiently awaited it. It is in the arms of death that we shall one day be united. . . . Restore an unhappy mother to her young family, who have need of her, and let my husband receive from your hands his wife, still worthy of his affection. You are husbands and fathers. Consult your own hearts. I am worthy of your solicitude.

At Montpellier, on the arrest of the Girondin deputies at Paris, a committee of resistance was formed. It was

¹ Marie Madeleine Ferrière, wife of Rousse, tried as an accomplice.

headed by the mayor, Jean Jacques Durand, aged 33, an ex-judge, and it issued several manifestoes, signed by him. He vainly, prior to and at the trial, pleaded that he had been misled in siding with the Girondins; the disavowal did not save his head.

XXXIV

To CITOYENNE DURAND, Hôtel de l'Union, Paris.

My dearest, do not grieve too much. I assure thee that I shall die content. The rigour of men ensures me the mercy of God. It expiates the faults that I have committed, and prevents those which I might have committed. Thou knowest my weakness of character and my extreme sensibility, which perhaps misled me. It is worthy of God's goodness to prevent this. We shall never be parted. I shall watch over you. When thinking of me know that I am there and that I love thee ever. I forgive my enemies. Do likewise. They fancied they were doing well, but it is I alone who am ruined. . . . God alone does good. It is He who separates us for a moment in order more surely to reunite us, and that for ever. Thou seest that it was necessary. Adieu, my beloved. Be consoled for life by the prospect of eternity. It was a question of spending it together. There was no doubt about it except for me. Thank God, there is no longer any. Adieu, dearest. No, I do not bid thee adieu. I say "Good night," for I am going to sleep for a moment, a single moment, and on awaking I shall again see my beloved, and nothing will then be able to part us. I embrace our children, parents, and friends. As solace for my death I leave them my life. I leave it to them as an example. Let them learn by my fault to correct their failings, curb their passions, and not always act on impulse, which may mislead them. Let them love their country as I have loved it, and let them serve it more effectively. My children, love your mother, and obey her as you would obey both of us. I bequeath her all my rights over you. She has both her own and mine. My dear parents, I am sorry for the pain I cause you. Your grief is the only thing which I feel at this moment. Adieu; I am going whither the Master calls me. He takes me away from labour at midday. I shall rest till the evening, then it will be all the same. Adieu, my dearest, adieu. Thy husband, thy everlasting friend,

DURAND.

Jean Baptiste Louis Courtonnel, aged 36, innkeeper, was convicted of supplying inferior hay as an army contractor. He explained that a few trusses might inadvertently have been of poor quality.

XXXV

To CITOYENNE COURTONNEL, Aubergiste, Beaumont le Roger, Eure.

CONCIERGERIE, 7 Pluviôse.

Receive, my dearest, my last adieux. I am about to die, full of affection for thee and our dear children. My enemies have succeeded in getting me convicted. Thou knowest my innocence. Adieu for ever. I am full of regret at quitting thee, but I shall bear my fate with calmness up to the last moment. Embrace my children for me, and remind them of their father. Let them cherish his memory, without being unreasonably affected by his death. . . .

I recommend thee to do exactly all that I mentioned in my previous letter for thy good, and in order to extricate thyself from the enmity of those who have caused my death.

J. B. COURTONNEL.

Jean Baptiste Emanuel Rouettiers, aged 45, had been a groom in waiting to Louis XVI. His widow and two married daughters were still living in 1825.

XXXVI

To CITOYENNE ROUETTIERS, Marais, Paris.

I approach the fatal end, my dear wife and children. I clasp you affectionately to my heart, which still beats and will beat to the last breath for you. Ever love one another, all three. Be happy with one another, and do not forget thy husband and father,

ROUETTIERS.

12 Pluviôse, 11.30.

Anne Jeanne Rouettiers de la Chauvinerie, sister of the above, and wife of the marquis de Charras, aged 41, was condemned the same day for corresponding with *émigré* relatives.

XXXVII

To CITIZEN CHARRAS AND HIS THREE CHILDREN, Asnières.

Adieu, my dear husband; my poor children, adieu. Receive the last embraces of your affectionate wife and mother. All that I will add is that my heart in everything is yours. I approach the fatal moment. Never forget me. I ask my poor children that these my last words be ever preserved by them. Adieu. I send you my last breath. I recommend you all to her who loves you, your aunt and sister. Adieu.

FEMME CHARRAS.

12 *Pluviôse*.

Guillaume Martin, a doctor, aged 65, was one of seventeen inhabitants of Coulommiers, two of them women, condemned 15 *Pluviôse* for "a conspiracy to make Seine-et-Marne a second Vendée,"—that is to say, for supporting the Girondins. The description of death as a long journey, used also by the duc de Lauzun, was probably a reminiscence of Rabelais' reputed deathbed remark, "Grease my boots for a long journey."

XXXVIII

To CITOYENNE DUFRENE, Coulommiers.

Adieu, my dearest. I am very sorry for the pain which I have caused thee. It must be hoped that this will last only for a time. I wish you every kind of happiness, as also my friend Dufrene, who will prove to you that he loved me by loving and respecting you, and conforming to your will. I am soon going to start on a long journey. My last breath but one will be for Dufrene and for you, and my last will be for my God, who, I hope, in His mercy will receive me, and in whom I put my trust. Adieu, all my friends and neighbours.

MARTIN.

Pray daily for me and for your father, if God allows me the grace of rejoining him in eternity.

Étienne François Maulnoir, 50, justice of the peace, was another Coulommiers victim.

XXXIX

To CITOYENNE MAULNOIR, Paris.

The die is cast, my beloved. I had for a week been expecting the blow which has now befallen me. I am separated from thee for eternity. I do not complain of my fate. I submit to it with resignation. . . . Adieu, my dear wife. I do not ask thee to remember me. I know thy feeling too well, and have no doubt on that point.

Pierre Merlin, 29, lawyer, was convicted of participation in the same movement.

XL

To CITOYENNE MERLIN.

All is over, my beloved. The sacrifice of my life is no great thing, but I am anxious to justify my memory. Busy thyself, therefore, with the revision of the judgment against me. . . . Embrace my sister. Remember me to her husband, my family, thine, and our friends, indeed to all interested in me. Do not be uneasy at my fate. I shall die a free man. Receive the last adieux of thy best friend.

13 *Pluviôse.*

Louis Nicolas Paillot, 44, ex-general at Troyes, farmer, was convicted on the 2nd February 1794 of a royalist conspiracy, viz. of signing a loyal address to the King after the 20th June 1792.

XLI

To HIS [STEP?] SON.

Give thy mother every possible attention, and love her. She deserves it. . . . Above all, cherish no hatred or resentment against anybody, for I repeat that no witness accused or scarcely mentioned me. . . . My greatest vexation is my inability to testify all the gratitude I feel for thy mother. Ask of her one favour, it is the last, viz. to preserve her health for the sake of her children, who have still need of her, especially my daughter. Adieu, my beloved friend, may thou be more fortunate than I.

3rd February, morning.

Marie Gabrielle Chapt-Rastignac, 60, of Marly, widow of the marquis de Paysac, was condemned on the 5th February 1794 for correspondence with the enemy, viz. her *émigré* son and several other persons. She was probably sister of a priest who in the National Assembly had vigorously defended ecclesiastical property, and a collateral ancestor had at the beginning of the century been archbishop of Tours.

XLII

To MADEMOISELLE PAYSAC, 71 Rue de St. Pierre, Paris.

My dear daughter, I am condemned to death. Be consoled. Thank my counsel. Take care, I beg you, of your health. Well, my child, sooner or later [death comes to all]. Remember me to the amiable [female] cousin and to all my friends. . . . Adieu! I embrace you. I have asked that my hair may be given to you.

Jacques Philippe Isaac Guéau de Reverseaux, 55, ex-intendant of Bourbonnais, but described as a farmer, was convicted on the 12th February 1794 of correspondence with the enemies of the republic and of talk against recruiting for the army. The son of an eminent jurist, he had at the outbreak of the Revolution retired to Chartres, hoping to escape persecution by writing no letters and receiving or paying no visits. But being in a hurry for the erection of a shed on his farm, he was told by the carpenter that most of his men had just been called out to join the army. He replied that they were not forced to go, for they could get substitutes. Some of the men, hearing or remembering only the first part of the sentence, told their municipality that Reverseaux had said they were not obliged to become soldiers. Thereupon he was arrested. He admitted, at the trial, having said that the monarchical constitution of 1791 could not work, and this, he added, had been verified.

XLIII

To CITOYENNE GUÉAU, Rue Neuve Notre Dame, Paris.

25 *Pluviôse*.

I write to thee, my dear daughter, to thank thee for thy attentions and to stimulate thy courage. I have spent a quiet month. I beg thee to tell this to thy mother and to give her, on the essential hope of another life, all the consolation for which I myself hope. I have read several times chapter 19 of the 3rd book of the "Imitation" on which I chanced to open. Read it again and again to thy sisters for me. . . . I was quite satisfied with my counsel. Tell his father so, and if you can render any service to that family I beg you to do so. . . . Thou wilt communicate this letter to thy mother when thou thinkest fit. It appeared to me that all the witnesses were vexed at what has happened to me and had no hatred towards me. . . . Adieu, my dear daughter, receive thy father's and best friend's wishes for thy happiness and that of the family. The past moments are painful and grievous, but the memory of those who have been dear to you creates in your mind a sweet feeling which is not without pleasure. I hope my wife and children will soon find themselves in this position.

XLIV

To CITIZEN GUYOT.

25 *Pluviôse*.

It is at the moment of death, citizen, that I write to assure you that I carry to the tomb no resentment against you or those who, I believe involuntarily, have brought me where I am. I beg you to say so to Jean Pataud and the others. I forgive with all my heart those who may have been my enemies. Not only do I forget all the unpleasant feelings which you may have conceived or manifested against me, but I am sincerely grateful to you for the way in which before the tribunal you rendered my wife the justice due to her. The public recognition of her virtues has left in my mind a satisfaction for which I thank you.—I am, your servant,

REVERSEAUX.

Jacques Henri Wiedenfelf, 27, banker in Paris, and a native of Aix-la-Chapelle, was condemned on the 14th February 1794 for exporting coin in chemists' gallipots.

He pleaded that it was a commercial, not a political, affair. No witness was called.

XLV

*To CITOYENNE VAN HOUTEN, at the English Convent [Prison],
Rue de l'Oursine, Paris.*

My death is pronounced, and I shall die innocent. I love and have loved thee all my life, and shall love thee also until death. My last breath will be thine. Share my grief, but do not be afflicted. I quit the sound of human voices. Be happy; thou deservest it. I greatly regret my inability to leave thee anything, but my means have never allowed me. My heart is eternally yours. Adieu, adieu, adorable woman, receive my last kiss.

General Dortoman, 51, of Montpellier, arrested in October 1793, was convicted on the 23rd February 1794 of having abandoned positions on the Italian frontier to the enemy.

XLVI

To CITIZEN COLOMBIER, Montpellier.

I have, citizen, just been condemned. I am about in a moment to ascend the scaffold. I do not pity myself, but my wife and children. The little property which I possess is confiscated by the republic. Let my wife take care to claim what is hers. I do not pity myself, but my wife and children. I commend them to you, and am persuaded that they will lack nothing, with thy kind heart. I die innocent. Thou hast long known my principles, and I have never altered. I am a victim of envy and mean jealousy. Thou wilt receive by post 1200 f. Dumas had lent me 800 f., which must be repaid to Clemens. Adieu, my dear citizen; I do not regret life, but only my wife and children. Take care of them. Health, friendship, and fraternity for the last time.

Étienne Thomas Maussion, 43, an ex-judge at Rouen, repelled a mob which tried to pillage his granary. He was

accused of visits to *émigrés* at Brussels and Rome, but this charge was refuted and abandoned. On the 24th February 1794 he was declared guilty of hoarding grain.

XLVII

To CITOYENNE D'ESCAYRAC, Rue Richelieu, Paris.

CONCIERGERIE, 7 Ventôse.

I know, my dear niece, that you were hovering round the Palace [of Justice] yesterday. God is my witness that my sole uneasiness was lest you should be present at my condemnation. I know how your affectionate and susceptible heart must have suffered. Two points only were raised at the trial. First, the Bordier affair. You know what a stranger I was to it. The second was the alleged emigration. Nobody knows better than you that my return to France dates back two years before the extreme date fixed by the decrees. Nevertheless I do not complain of the condemnation. I adore the decrees of Providence, and I bless the hand which strikes me. I think I defended myself with simplicity, presence of mind, coolness, and courage. I should, however, have made a fuller defence if I had not behind me my counsel, on whom I counted. I do not know why, but he also cut it short. Let him be easy, however; I have no grudge against him. I know that it was not in his power to save me. I am sorry that the witnesses who signed my certificate and who simply testified the truth were destroyed [*sic*]. Ready to appear before the tribunal of the Supreme Being, I testify it again and fear no contradiction. Having but little money in prison, I have been unable to pay what I owe to my counsel. It seems to me that the nation, which takes possession of my property, should undertake the debt. If this raised the slightest difficulty, my family are too honest not to discharge it. My children will not refuse to pay for these things out of the property which should come to them. I recommend you then to pay citizens Chauveau and La Fleutrie. I leave you my unfortunate children, and trust to your affection for lavishing cares on them. Let them be well educated. It is the best inheritance which can be left them. Inculcate betimes principles which may be their rule of conduct through life. Let the unfortunate example before their eyes early teach them the vanity of human things, so that they may attend to what is more certain and durable.

Five persons charged with giving Maussion a false certificate of residence were sentenced on the 28th April 1794 to six hours' exposure in the pillory and six years' imprisonment.

Pierre Jean Sourdille-Lavatelle, aged 30, barrister, was a prominent Girondin at Laval. The italics are mine.

XLVIII

To CITOYENNE SOURDILLE LAVATELLE, *Laval, Mayenne.*

12 *Ventôse.*

Adieu, kind and affectionate wife, and adieu for ever. It is two o'clock, and I hope at three to be on my way to the Place de la Révolution. You see, my dearest, that by four o'clock I shall be happier, or at least not so unhappy as thou. Thou art the only person who made me cling to life, and for some time I was afraid of having lost thee. Thy silence, unbroken since the 30 Pluviôse, made me think that thou hadst succumbed to the innumerable blows which thou hast undergone for some time, and then my days were numbered. I defended myself with courage and firmness. I shall show this up to the last moment, and I shall leave, I hope, the name of an honest man. I have not written thee a longer letter, but I wish to converse a last time with thee. I swear to thee that under the fatal knife my thoughts will be fixed on thee. Live for my sons, my mother, my aunt. Bid my sister farewell, and receive the tenderest kisses. *I have swallowed thy ring.* It was bound never to quit me. Adieu, my dearest. I send thee a thousand kisses. SOURDILLE.

Alexandre Pierre Cauchois, aged 28, architect, was condemned on the 12th March 1794 for saying that one tyrant, meaning a king, was better than five hundred, meaning the Convention. He was, however, a Republican. On ascending the scaffold he exclaimed, "Sons of the fatherland, you will avenge my death!" But the spectators waved their hats and cried, "Vive la République!"

XLIX

To CITOYENNE CAUCHOIS.

All is over. For having honestly loved liberty and having been unable to keep silence in the presence of the wicked, I am sacrificed.

A putrid fever would have had the same effect. If any consciousness is retained after death, my feeling will be for you and for my country. In spite of their injustice towards me, I persist in thinking that men are stupid rather than wicked. I should have liked to lose my life in the cause of liberty, but I fear my death will merely cement the public slavery. I leave you more unfortunate than myself, and my only regret is to add to your misfortunes. Adieu.

CAUCHOIS.

Martin Blanchet, aged 43, kept a wineshop. When a captain in the National Guard, in August 1792, it is alleged that he refused to join in the attack upon the Tuileries. His letter is ill written and ill spelt. It will be noticed that he addresses his wife as "widow."

L

*A la CITOYENNE VEUVE BLANCHET, Marchande de Vins,
Faubourg Poissonnière, 18, Paris.*

Adieu, my wife, my children, for ever and ever. Love them, I beg thee, my children. Tell them often what I was. Love them for both of us. Adieu, wife and children. I am about to draw the curtain of life. All you, my friends, comfort my wife and children. This is what I ask of you. Adieu Martre, adieu Galvan, and all who sympathise with my misfortune. Embrace my little children. I end my days to-day.

BLANCHET.

Judged criminally, 23 Ventose, 1794. I embrace my wife and children.

[On the outside page.] Adieu, Tripotin, my friend. Wife, adieu, and children,—adieu for life. Preserve the papers of my trial for my children. Adieu for ever.

BLANCHET.

François Nicolas Du Biez, *alias* Dignancourt, a clerk to the Paris municipality, was condemned for uttering forged *assignats*, but he writes like an innocent man.

LI

My dear love and faithful wife, I take advantage of this moment when my courage does not abandon me, to repeat to thee my last

farewell. Receive it with equal courage and affection. Embrace frequently thy dear child, who is also mine. Bring him up in true republican principles. It is the wish of the people, it is the wish of the sovereign [that is, people]. Remind him frequently that he had a father who dearly loved him, and tell him how much I loved him. Thou knowest it, dearest. Tell him that his unfortunate father had no cause for self-reproach, and that he dies with the tranquillity inspired by innocence. "The scaffold does not dishonour, but only the crime." Tell my friend the captain that I die with all the esteem for him which he has inspired in me. Embrace thy mother for me, and tell her not to forget me. It is nine o'clock. I have perhaps still two hours to live. I shall employ them in thinking of thee. Adieu, dearest; adieu, my child; adieu to thy mother, whom I much esteem. Take courage, and do not give way to grief. I am thy dear and faithful husband, the unfortunate

DU BIEZ.

4 *Germinal*, nine o'clock in the morning,
year 2 of the French Republic, one
and indivisible.

On the 24th March 1794, in the batch of eighteen persons, including Hébert (père Duchêne) and Cloots, executed for being more Jacobinical than Robespierre, was Antoine François Momoro, a native of Besançon, twenty-eight years of age. He is assuredly entitled to no pity, for his hands were stained with blood, and had he and his Cordeliers club triumphed the Terror would have become even more sanguinary; but he could meet death with stoicism, for on a scrap of paper he writes thus:—

LII

To CITOYENNE MOMORO, Rue de la Harpe, No. 171.

As a republican preserve thy character, thy courage. Thou knowest the purity of my patriotism. I shall maintain the same character till death. Bring up my son in republican principles. Thou canst not carry on the printing office. Dismiss the workmen. Greet *citoyenne* Marat and the republicans. I leave you my memory and my virtue. Marat has taught me to suffer. Thy husband,

MOMORO.

The intended recipient of this letter had figured as one of the Goddesses of Liberty in November 1793.

Pierre Rougane Bellebat, of Dunkirk, aged 31, was condemned, together with his uncle, on the 25th March, for anti-revolutionary talk and for drinking the health of the King of Prussia.

LIII

*To CITOYENNE ROUGANE, care of CITIZEN ROUGANE-BELLEBAT
PÈRE, Aigueperse.*

My dearest, when thou receivest my letter it will inform thee, alas, that thou hast no longer a husband. To-day, 4 Germinal, I have been condemned to death, but what consoles me is that I die innocent. I started without being able to bid thee a last farewell. Be consoled for my loss. Behold an example by which all our young men should profit. Behold thyself sole mistress. Take care of that poor unfortunate Julia. Let her be thy solace. Be consoled. I die innocent, and I have taken care to settle my affairs. I beg my father to pay my debts. Adieu, I embrace thee with all my heart, and am thy husband,

ROUGANE.¹

Claire Madeleine Lambertye de Villemain, aged 41, wife of a former secretary to the King, corresponded with her *émigré* brothers, and concealed the plate of the Polignac family, her kinsmen, to save it from confiscation. She denied having sent money to her brothers, or having known that some plate belonging to the duc d'Artois (the future Charles X.) was with that of the Polignacs. She was condemned on the 27th March, 7 Germinal.

LIV

To CITOYENNE LAMBERTYE.

Weep not for your daughter, dear mamma. She dies worthy of you. She has loved you to her last breath. Live and take care of yourself and pray for me. Adieu. My last sighs are for you.

LAMBERTYE DE VILLEMMAIN.

¹ Four other Rouganes, of the same family, were also guillotined. One of them, his brother Claude, seventy years of age, had been a priest at Clermont-Ferrand, had joined the hermits at Mont Valerian, near Paris, and had published numerous pamphlets on revolutionary legislation.

Jean Valery Harel, aged 30, of Alençon, a cotton manufacturer, was accused of sending money to an *émigré*.

LV

To MY WIFE.

CONCIERGERIE, 9 *Germinal*.

My dearest, my last moments have come. I have been condemned to death by the Revolutionary tribunal. I am innocent of what I am accused of; but no matter, it is settled, and at least I die well, rest assured. Be consoled. This is the only happiness I can hope for during the brief moments remaining to me. My sister-in-law Houdouard, to whom this paper is addressed, will hand you my portrait, taken here. It is not very good, because I had to start for trial just when the painter was taking it. This testimony of my remembrance will be a sure guarantee to you of that affection which I have ever cherished for thee, and which will not end, but which I shall gladly carry away with me.

HAREL LE JEUNE.

There are also a few lines to his sister, and to his sister-in-law and her husband, begging them to break the news to his wife and to be kind to her.

François Charles Gattey, 30, bookseller, Palais Royal, Paris, was condemned on the 14th April 1794 for sending reactionary books to a customer in St. Domingo. His sister, Marie Claudine, aged 39, an ex-nun, was present at the trial, and on hearing him condemned, resolving not to survive him, shouted three times "*Vive le roi*." She was at once arrested, and tried and executed next day.

LVI

To CITOYENNE GATTEY.

I die, dearest, with a pure and innocent heart. Nobody better than thou can have judged my sentiments. I commend my dear children to thee. They are young plants, which thou canst train according to the new laws. I know the purity of thy soul. If I have sometimes appeared to scold thee, forgive my hasty temper, and never forget that thou hast been loved and cherished. I need not commend thee to thy parents. They are as dear to me as my

own. Pity me with them. But why pity me? I am innocent. The moment of death approaches. I am about to begin a journey, the thought of which should make despotic tyrants tremble. Allow me before starting to fling myself at thy feet and ask pardon for the offences which I may have committed and the vexations which I may have caused thee. Thy husband, courageous, emboldened by the purity of his intentions, is about to pay the tribute which he owes to Nature. If regrets cling to him, it is for not dying in thy arms, and for not being able to express at the last moment all that I have always felt for thee. Adieu; forget thy beloved, so as to be happy. Thy children will one day be thy happiness. Embrace them tenderly, and constantly inculcate in them all the sentiments worthy of a true patriot. Death is nothing. I have never been a conspirator, and my denouncers will live only in shame. Adieu; I embrace thee a last time, also my children, thy parents and mine, not forgetting my friends. [Written] on my knees.

GATTEY.

Jean Claude Géant, aged 41, was a member of the administration of the Moselle, which, apprehensive of diplomatic difficulties with the prince of Nassau-Saarbrück, suspended the confiscation of an abbey belonging to him. For this act of disobedience he and ten colleagues were executed.

LVII

To CITOYENNE GÉANT, Metz.

My dear Améliste, Human nature is nothing. Man appears for an instant, and his soul flies away to the bosom of his Creator. I go there to prepare thy place. Live for our dear children. I join my ancestors and thine.—Thy unfortunate husband, GÉANT.

17 *Flortal.*

Adieu, dear children. Be virtuous, love your country as your father did. I shall pray for all; pray for me. Amen.

François Collin, 54, farmer, ex-judge, and administrator of the department of Moselle, was condemned on the 6th May for a royalist protest against the invasion of the Tuileries.

LVIII

To CITOYENNE COLLIN, *Ars-sur-Moselle*.

I start, my beloved, for the scaffold. I hope to demean myself as a free man. I intend to die fasting. Entreat my children to continue to serve their country, and to show in battle the same courage as their father. I embrace thee and *citoyenne* Canou.

This was enclosed in the following letter to Fouquier-Tinville :—

I beg thee, public prosecutor, to forward this letter to my wife, so that my sons, who are in the Carabinier corps, may receive my last orders to die for their country.

Henri Jacques Poulet, 56, of Metz, an ex-judge, and procureur of Moselle, was condemned on the 6th May 1794 for complicity in the same offence.

LIX

To CITOYENNE POULET.

Adieu, my dear unfortunate wife. You will be my last thought. Submit to your fate, and be consoled as to that of your husband, which, however, he has not deserved. I forgive my fellow-citizens with all my heart. Respect the laws, as you have always seen me do. A woman's sphere is easier than a man's. Domestic life has always been thy liking, and it will suit you more than ever. I commend to my children the best of mothers and the most affectionate of wives. Adieu, for the last time, adieu.

I thank you, my dear daughter, for your affectionate attentions. Thy filial love will be rewarded. Start immediately and return to Metz. Remember me to your mother, and give your sisters and my son the paternal blessing. Your father gives it to you from his heart.

Jean Baptiste Buret, 33, farmer, of Vic-sur-Aubois, was

condemned on the 16th May 1794 for anti-revolutionary talk. He vainly asked for a respite.¹

LX

To THE PUBLIC SAFETY COMMITTEE.

Citizens, I have the honour to inform you that I have just been tried and sentenced to death. The wife of citizen Chauveau, my counsel, died yesterday. He has all my papers in defence, with the list of my witnesses. I have not been able to produce either. I ask for a respite.

CONCIERGERIE, 4 P.M., 27 *Floréal*.

Delphin Legardeur, aged 52, cloth manufacturer at Sedan, was one of twenty-five municipal councillors and notables executed for resistance to the Jacobins.

LXI

To GENERAL LEGARDEUR.

I offer thee, my dear son, my last adieux. I commend thy mother to thee. Although the younger, I hope that thou wilt set a good example to thy brother, and that you will both continue to do your best to defend the Republic.

LEGARDEUR.

15 *Prairial*, year 2.

Charles Louis Victor de Broglie, aged 37, son of Marshal de Broglie, had been an army officer. He was a member and one of the presidents of the National Assembly. Protesting against the fall of the monarchy, he was deprived of his military command, but eventually accepted the Republic, and returning to Paris joined the National Guard, till reinstated in the army. On the 30th March 1794 his arrest was ordered. His being the son of an

¹ So also with the Polish princess Lubomirska, who, on being condemned, wrote to Fouquier to inform him that she had been confused with a cousin by marriage of the same name. Fouquier not only tossed this letter aside, but intercepted another, addressed to princess Amelia of Hohenzollern. Enclosing a lock of her hair, she wrote: "Adieu, Amelia, I shall soon cease to live. Remember thy friend, and love me in the person of my child." That child, only five years old, had been arrested along with her mother. See Stryanski, *Deux Victimes de la Terreur*.

émigré was really his sole offence. This touching letter, written on a scrap of coarse paper, was addressed to his wife, then a prisoner at Vésoul, for though in 1792, with her infant son, she had crossed over to England in an open boat, the passage taking fourteen hours, she had returned, to avoid being classed as an *émigrée*, but was nevertheless imprisoned in Arras till the General Security Committee, on her husband's petition, peremptorily ordered her release. I had the satisfaction of acquainting the duc de Broglie, the statesman and Academician, with the existence and whereabouts of this, his grandfather's last letter. One of the children spoken of married Madame de Staël's daughter.

LXII

To CITOYENNE BROGLIE, *Vésoul*.

Liberty. Equality.

CONCIERGERIE, 7 *Messidor*.

I have been since yesterday at the Conciergerie, my dear Sophie. I am about to mount to the Revolutionary tribunal with the purity of conscience and calmness which inspire the courageous man. Whatever the result, it will be prompt. Bear it with firmness. Take care of thyself for our children, whom I load, like thee, with kisses, tears, and regrets. Never forget thy poor husband,

VICTOR BROGLIE.

Jean Jacques Joseph Mousnier, aged 38, a lawyer, was one of thirty-eight prisoners condemned for the pretended plot at the Luxembourg. His anxiety for his guillotine toilet is characteristic.

LXIII

To CITIZEN ROYER, *Painter, Rue Helvetius, 57*.

CONCIERGERIE, 20 *Messidor*.

Republic, one and indivisible.

I am anxious, comrade, to thank thee for the kindness which thou hast lavished on me during my fatal detention, for I have only twenty-four hours left. To all appearances, I shall be guillotined to-morrow, though the most innocent man in the world. Send me a shirt, pocket handkerchief, and a pair of stockings. The rest of

my wardrobe will be an instalment of what will be due to thee when the nation, my heir, relieves thee of the charge of my effects. Claim thine own at the Luxembourg. Adieu. My last compliments to thy wife and neighbours. Adieu for ever.

MOUSNIER.

Send me also the shabby coat which I lately sent thee with my overcoat.

There will be fifty sous for the commissionaire who brings me the receipt.

François Nicolas Louis Rouvière de Boisbarbeau, 61, ex-noble of Fréville, Loiret, one of Louis XVI.'s secretaries, was condemned on the 27th July 1794, the very day of Robespierre's fall.

LXIV

To CITIZEN BULLER, Amiens.

PARIS, 20 *Messidor*.

I am at the Conciergerie, citizen, consequently there remains for me only courage and the testimony of a good conscience. Try to apprise my mother and my poor friends, so that they may not learn from the newspapers that I am no more. Tell my mother that I die an honest man and in the Catholic religion in which I was born. . . . Father and son have both been your friends.

Among the forty-six prisoners at the Carmelite monastery guillotined on the 23rd July on the pretence of a plot, was the marquis Gouy d'Arcy. Born in 1753, with the Dauphin (Louis XVI.'s father) as his sponsor at baptism, he married in 1780 a rich Creole of St. Domingo. When, therefore, in 1789 the nobility of his own district of Melun refused to elect him to the States-General, on account, not so much of his being a freemason and a disciple of Mesmer as an admirer of Necker, he obtained election in St. Domingo, and as deputy made numerous speeches and published pamphlets, some in opposition to negro emancipation, for his liberalism drew the line at the black man. He did not sit in the Legislative Assembly or in the Convention, but remained in retirement at Arcy, which he had

once to defend against pillage. Imprisoned for three days in Paris in April 1793, on the denunciation of Marat, he was again arrested on the 8th October and sent to the Carmelites, which he left only for the Conciergerie and the scaffold. During his imprisonment he wrote a pamphlet on political affairs, but twice over destroyed the manuscript on his cell being subject to search. On the 13th July 1794 he commenced writing—but often interrupted by sobs—a farewell letter to his wife, for after the judicial massacre of the 150 Luxembourg prisoners he resigned himself to a similar fate. The letter is eight or ten thousand words in length, and it reached its destination, probably through a bribe to a turnkey. It is not, therefore, like the epistles already quoted or about to be quoted, an intercepted letter, nor is it even an unpublished one, for his widow printed it in 1795, but inasmuch as the pamphlet has never since been reprinted and is almost unknown, I give some passages from it. Let me premise that Gouy d'Arcy had septuagenarian parents living, as also a grandmother, and that he had four little children, one born during his imprisonment and whom consequently he never saw. He deems it impossible that his soul can "exist in the Elysian fields" without still loving and being interested in his wife, and he assures her that he shall continue to watch over her, especially at her deathbed, when he will "carry her soul to the bosom of God, where we shall be I hope for ever united." He exhorts her, inasmuch as his property would be confiscated, to bring up his sons to trades—printing, for instance, like Franklin, or surgery. He adds:—

LXV

I have always desired liberty, equality, the welfare of the people, and the prosperity of the nation. I adhere to these sentiments till death, and I forgive my punishment to those whom unfounded prejudices have doubtless blinded to my innocence. . . . It would be painful for me to believe that thou shouldst think to honour my memory by wearing, and making our children wear, external mourning,

the display of which might, as long as our storms are prolonged, be detrimental to thee. I require my beloved, therefore, to avoid all that could create the slightest suspicion in this respect. A regret from her, a recollection, a phrase daily to my children, a tear from time to time in her eye, will be more glorious for thy husband than all those sombre rags lasting for a year. . . . Thy heart may be in mourning, but let not thy person be so.¹ . . . What now remains for me to do? Ah, beloved, the most painful act, it remains for me to quit thee. Here I confess, to the shame of human weakness but to the pride of my heart, all my physical strength abandons me, my moral faculties are annihilated, tears flood my face, and I am so overcome as to seem to have ceased to be before having suffered death. To leave my family, to be parted for ever from my beloved companion, to be removed for ever from my dear children, to retain all my intellect for appreciating what I lose, all my heart for knowing what I quit, all my senses for struggling against the mortal blow which is about to sever me from the living—all this, my dearest, overcomes me and kills me beforehand. Ah! where shall I find strength for undertaking such a journey? No friends, no consolers, isolated from all that love me, I see around me only the prison, the judges, and the executioner; but my conscience sustains me, my innocence consoles me, piety comforts me, and God summons me; it is in His paternal bosom that I am about to cast myself. . . . Your hair, which I have fastened to my body, will not even be separated from it by the mortal blow. It will mingle with the dust of my sad remains, and when my soul is already free, one of thy tresses will still clasp me. Keep my portrait, my lock of hair, some articles of furniture of which I was fond, and especially this letter. I conjure thee to read it through three times a year, on the anniversaries of our marriage, my arrest, and my death. . . . I enclose . . . my hair, which I have myself cut off, for I will not have it reach thee sullied by the hand of Robespierre's executioner. . . . O my country, my country, mayst thou speedily be delivered from the sanguinary executioners who seek to dishonour thee in the face of all nations.

Thus ends this, the longest and by far the most striking and harrowing of these farewell letters. And to think that had the trial been five days later Gouy would have been saved!

¹ It was thus unsafe for victims' families to go into mourning.

Here is a letter without signature, address, or date :—

LXVI

Adieu, my friend. I already cherish the other life. I am about to draw the curtain of this world. I do not march thither, I fly. To-morrow you will see my name in the newspapers. There I shall be a conspirator. Adieu for ever. The judgment which you have passed on me is most beneficent. To the citizens of La Chapelle and Bel Air, adieu, all my friends.

It is consoling to find one farewell letter which was not followed by the death of the writer. The fall of Robespierre happily averted the trial of a father who on the previous day, ignorant of what was coming, thus addressed his son :—

LXVII

*To CITIZEN RIVERY, Battalion of Volunteers, Freberville,
Seine-Inférieure.*

Equality. Liberty.

8 Thermidor.

Dear son, thou findest enclosed my accusation, to which there lacks only the reality of facts. I have never been an *émigré*, and have at all times combated aristocracy and royalty. It is a very vexatious accident to have come to Paris, where distrust is universal. Be nevertheless a good republican, and if my head can consolidate the indivisibility of the Republic, I shall readily make the sacrifice.

Let me, in conclusion, give a farewell letter addressed not by, but to a victim of the Terror. General Adam Philippe de Custine, who had served in America with Lafayette, had welcomed the Revolution, and had won battles for it across the Rhine, was arrested on account of the loss of Mayence on the 22nd July 1793, was removed on the 30th to the Conciergerie, and on the 17th August was brought to trial. On the 27th he was condemned, and on the following morning guillotined. His son's wife, Louise Mélanie Delphine de Sabran,

wrote to implore him to die as a good Catholic, but she did not know that he had already resolved on doing so. He received absolution from the abbé Lothringer, the Conciergerie chaplain, who, though a "constitutional" priest, and therefore in the eyes of Rome a schismatic, was still a priest, and entitled even according to the most rigid Roman orthodoxy to administer the sacraments. Marie Antoinette clearly did not understand this, or she would not have refused Lothringer's services. On receiving sentence, Custine, who was fifty-two years of age, knelt for two hours in prayer, asked his confessor to spend the night with him, and wrote a letter to his son, whom he exhorted to demonstrate his innocence of treason. Next morning the jailor handed him an unsealed letter from his daughter-in-law, but he declined to read it, lest it should unnerve him. Lothringer sat beside him in the cart on the way to execution, reading prayers and offering him a crucifix to kiss. Custine cast a compassionate and tearful look on the howling mob, or raised his eyes to heaven.¹ So pious an end incensed the Jacobins, who immediately arrested both the daughter-in-law and the priest. The latter was liberated on the 3rd September 1793, but Delphine was incarcerated till October 1794. In the previous January her husband had been guillotined.

LXVIII

When you receive this letter, father, the fatal moment which must end a life so dear to your children will have nearly arrived. My heart is torn by the imperative duty which my [pregnant] condition imposes on me not to fly to you. I should long ago have been with you but for this absolute impossibility, but especially on this last occasion I should have wished to give you a final proof of affection. I am not uneasy as to your courage, or the magnanimity which you will be able to display, but, father, in the name of all that is most sacred I ask you on

¹ Helen Williams was probably misinformed in stating that like Madame Dubarry he showed terror on reaching the guillotine.

my knees, and as the sole proof of your affection, to consider that the soul is immortal, that there is a God, an Eternity. If men have weaknesses, or passions which lead them astray, there are in the merits of Jesus Christ the sources of infinite mercy. I know that you have never despised religion. Do not neglect, then, the service which it offers you and the blessings which it promises you. All is about to end for time, even your daughter's affection you will no longer be able to enjoy. Alas that I have not had the pain of bidding you at this moment a last farewell. Profit by the blessings of religion, which are refused to none. Do not fancy that it is enough to honour God in the heart. Do, father, what I should myself do in the hour of death. Remember that the only idea which can mitigate the profound grief of your children is the hope of one day seeing you in heaven. I cast myself at your feet. I ask your blessing for me and for my children. My husband wishes me to express his grief and affection. Oh, father, I do not bid you farewell. I shall see you again in the abode of eternal bliss.

Styled by her step-father, Chevalier de Boufflers, the "Queen of Roses," Madame de Custine, at twenty-three years of age a widow, ten years afterwards succeeded Madame de Beaumont in the volatile affections of Chateaubriand. Deserted by but still loving him, she showed a visitor, towards the close of her life, the room in which she used to receive him. "Then it was here," said the lady, "that he was at your knees." "I was perhaps rather at his," was the reply. This lively, impulsive, and cultured woman died in 1826. It was at her dinner-table that Gall, the phrenologist, took Chateaubriand for a simpleton, and was not a little disconcerted on discovering his blunder.

One word, in conclusion, on Fouquier. He was accused in the indictment against him of actually showing a fiendish pleasure in the multitude of the victims, and it was proved that looking once from his window into the courtyard and seeing two prisoners take an affecting farewell of two persons just condemned, he ordered them to a cell and had them tried and condemned next day. They had, however, already been brought from

the Luxembourg to the Conciergerie, and in any case would probably have been tried. His allegation was that these sympathisers might have handed knives to the condemned, and thus enabled them to commit suicide.

With all his cynical brutality, he seems to have been a boon companion. Madame Wolff, whose husband was registrar to the tribunal, writes to him on the 15th December 1793, begging him "to eat her soup, and above all not to refuse it, for she does not like refusals."¹ Gohier, a member of the Convention, on the 21st December invites him to dinner, his wife being anxious to make his acquaintance. Santerre, the brewer-general, in asking for the speedy trial or liberation of two generals, states that he is dining at 4 or 4.30 with some Montagnards at the hôtel des Petites Écuries, and adds, "If thou couldst manage to join us the festival would be complete." This shows us what was then the dinner-hour.

Apart from bloodthirsty tyrants, no man perhaps equals Fouquier in wanton barbarity, yet strange to say he was not wholly devoid of feelings of humanity. He is believed to have protected the wife and daughters of the fugitive marquis de Miranion in Auvergne, because formerly, when a youth intended for the priesthood, they had taken kindly notice of him.² He appears, moreover, to have shown compassion towards the "Verdun virgins," tried on the 24th April 1794, for offering sweetmeats to the King of Prussia.³ On the 15th April two Mesdemoiselles Vatrins, who had come up to Paris to intercede for their three sisters, solicited Fouquier for an interview. This they probably obtained, for Fouquier, on interrogating the prisoners, tried to induce the younger ones to throw all the responsibility on their elders, but they heroically rejected this chance of escape, and the three Vatrins were guillotined. Claire Tabouiller and Barbe Henry, however, being just under sixteen years of age, were sentenced only to the pillory and twenty years' imprisonment. On the 13th May

¹ W. 170.

² Serres, *Révolution en Auvergne*, v. 17.

³ See my "Glimpses of the French Revolution," 235-244.

they wrote to Fouquier, described themselves as more unfortunate than culpable, and appealed to his "kind heart" for permission to return to Verdun, there to undergo their sentence. They were willing to go at their own expense, for the work of their hands would enable them to repay any money advanced for travelling expenses. Fouquier must have assented, for on the 22nd May they wrote, effusively thanking him for his kindness.¹ They were ready to go by the first available conveyance. They possessed three or four thousand francs (in paper money). If this was not enough certain friends in Paris would advance the rest. Annexed to this letter is a coach timetable showing the fare to be 82 francs per head. On the 8th June they wrote again, beseeching Fouquier that there might be no further delay, and he seems to have arranged for their journey, for on the 18th June, having reached their destination, they said :—

Allow us, citizen, to repeat our deep gratitude for the kindness which you have shown us in our unfortunate position. Our lot through your kind heart has been mitigated. The consolation of rejoining our families was the only one which we ventured to hope for. We have great cause to be thankful for the politeness with which our gendarmes² treated us. We owe you additional thanks for having chosen them. We hope, citizen, from what you have done, that if circumstances render it necessary we may apply to you with all the confidence which you inspire in us. Our effects have been catalogued. We do not know whether there is still an intention of selling them.³ If we experience any difficulty allow us to have recourse to you. We are, citizen, with the most perfect gratitude, greeting, and fraternity,

CLAIRE TABOUILLE,
BARBE HENRY.⁴

Thus Fouquier, otherwise so heartless, was open to compassion for children. He may even have heaved a

¹ W. 131. ² They were still prisoners, and were taken to Verdun prison.

³ The property of all condemned persons was confiscated.

⁴ To the copies of these letters in U. 1019 is appended a memorandum of 1821, which states that Claire was then dead, but Barbe, wife of a military sous-intendant, was living at Metz and had four children.

sigh over these touching letters. He was apparently an affectionate kinsman and father.¹ A letter addressed to him by a cousin at St. Quentin² shows that he interested himself in the health of a sick aunt, and his ten-year-old son, on hearing him condemned to death, exclaimed to the judges, "Wretches, restore me my father." The poor boy had to be removed from the court. Fouquier's first wife, it is true, does not seem to have been happy with him, and when in 1782, four months after her death, he married again, three of the four children were adopted by their mother's family; but his last letter to his second wife is not devoid of the pathos pervading the farewells of his victims. He says:—

I shall die then, hands and heart pure, for having served my country with too much zeal and activity, and for having conformed to the wishes of the Government. But, my dearest, what will become of thee and my poor children? You are about to be a prey to the horrors of the most fearful poverty. . . . Such are the gloomy ideas which torment me day and night. . . . I beg thee not to give way to grief, but to preserve thy health for thyself and our poor children. Forget the little disputes which we may have had. They have been the effect of my hot temper; my heart had nothing to do with them, but has constantly been attached to thee. . . . Tears in my eyes, and my heart in anguish, I bid thee adieu for the last time, and thy aunt and our poor children. Alas! what a sweet satisfaction should I not experience in being able to see thee again and clasp thee in my arms! But, my dearest, it is all over, and must not be thought of. . . . Embrace our children and thy aunt for me; be a mother to my children, whom I exhort to be good and to obey thee. Adieu, adieu; thy faithful husband till his last breath.³

Fouquier's widow died in poverty in 1827.⁴

¹ The sanguinary Chaumette, moreover, applied for a week's leave of absence to take his sick mother back to the country.

² W. 151.

³ Published by M. Lenotre in the *Temps*, Jan. 8, 1902.

⁴ Baudot, *Notes sur la Convention*.

CHAPTER XI

THE FALL OF ROBESPIERRE

Duplay Household—Habits—Last Speech—Insurrection of Commune—
Captured—Guillotined—His Notebook—Character

DISLIKE him as we may, and must, Robespierre is nevertheless the central figure of the second stage of the Revolution, just as Mirabeau is the central figure of the first, and when he disappears, the Revolution loses its chief interest. Despite his sallow complexion, the convulsive movements of his hands, shoulders, and neck, his green spectacles, his foppish attire, his shrill voice (but latterly modulated), his averted gaze, his hollow rhetoric, he escapes ridicule by horror. "One thing alone," as Renan says,¹ "does not admit of laughter—the atrocious. You may laugh at savants, poets, philosophers, religionists, politicians, plebeians, rich *bourgeois*. You will never laugh at Nero or Robespierre." Everything relating to him is accordingly of interest, and there is no lack of materials. The references to him in the *Moniteur* alone would fill a book, for, with the single exception of Barère, who was virtually his echo, he occupies much more space in the index to that journal than any other man. Hamel published in 1867 a minute biography of him, but new light has since been thrown on his Paris home by M. Lenotre,² and I have found in the National Archives some details of his tragical end correcting or supplementing those hitherto related. We have, therefore, abundant data for depicting his manner of life and the closing scene of horror. The picture may not materially modify the popular conception of him, but it will give us a more complete portrait.

On Sunday the 17th July 1791 there had been an

¹ *Avenir de la Science*, p. 440.

² *Paris Révolutionnaire*, 1895.

affray between the National Guard and the mob on the Champ de Mars, where a petition was being signed for the deposition of Louis XVI., who, three weeks before, had been brought back from Varennes. The Jacobin club sat till 11 o'clock at night anxiously discussing this untoward event, and, on leaving it, Robespierre was pressed by a fellow-member, Maurice Duplay, to pass the night at his house, a few steps off, 366 (now 398) rue St. Honoré, in case a warrant should have been issued for his arrest, as for that of other Republicans. The invitation was accepted.¹ Next morning he was urged to remain as one of the family.² He had for nearly two years been sharing a room on the ground-floor at 20 rue Saintonge, a mile to the eastward, with Pierre Villiers, who copied his speeches for him, and he had taken his meals at a restaurant. The prospect of recovering those home comforts to which his sister Charlotte had accustomed him at Arras, till his election as a Deputy in 1789, naturally tempted him, especially as he would be close to the Jacobin club. Sending for his few belongings, he accordingly remained, almost without intermission, at Duplay's for the remaining three years of his life.

¹ This is the most probable version, but Barras states that Robespierre asked Lecointre to recommend some lodging close by, and that Lecointre sent him to Duplay's. Charlotte Robespierre's version is that her brother was returning from the Champ de Mars, amid the cheers of the populace, when Duplay came out of his house, invited him to enter and rest, then prevailed on him to stay to dinner, and ultimately to pass the night. But Charlotte was not in Paris at the time. The crowd, fleeing panic-struck from the Champ de Mars, could have been in no mood for cheering, and Robespierre had probably not gone thither. Allowance, too, must be made for the free handling of the materials of Charlotte's memoirs by Lapommeraye. It is commonly stated that Madame Roland and her husband went that night to Robespierre's lodgings in the Marais to offer him a refuge with them at the Hôtel Britannique, rue Guénégaud, but Hamel questions this intended offer, inasmuch as Madame Roland, after some hesitation, on account of the landlord being a Royalist, sheltered that night Robert and his wife. It is clear, therefore, that she had had no idea of receiving guests. Her visit took place in all probability on the following day, for she says, "Robespierre had quitted his domicile." Had she gone on the 17th the landlord could not have told her this, but would merely have stated that he had not yet come in.

² Duplay may have been in want of a lodger, or liked to have celebrities under his roof, for the list of the Jacobin club shows that Dom Gerle, the Carthusian member of the National Assembly, lodged with him in 1789-90.

His host, fifty-two years of age, a native of St. Didier, Haute Loire, had come up as a young man to Paris to be a carpenter or builder, and patronised by Madame Geoffrin, whose literary *salon* was so famous, had prospered so as to be able to retire on 50,000 francs a year, derived from three houses, probably erected by him, in the rues Luxembourg (now Cambon), l'Arcade, and Angoulême (now La Boétie). The Revolution, however, driving away the wealthy class, had left these houses empty, and this had obliged him to resume business. He had occupied since 1779 one of the houses constructed by the Conceptionist nuns, along the frontage of their garden, beyond which was their convent, where his four daughters had been educated. Monastic property having been confiscated, Duplay's premises now belonged to the State. There was a building level with the street, sub-let to a tradesman, with an archway and tiny court. Entering the archway, you found on the left, or west, a wing, the ground-floor and lean-to serving as workshops, while on the first floor were several rooms, reached by a door and staircase from the court. At right angles with this wing, at the extremity of the court, was a building containing the dwelling and sleeping rooms of the Duplay family. Invited to choose his quarters, Robespierre selected a small bedroom and dressing room (to serve as a study) in the west wing, the windows looking out on the lean-to below and on the court, but perhaps commanding an oblique view of the convent garden, in which birds and grasshoppers were lively in the evening, when the carpenters had left. These were probably the only vacant rooms, for Jacques Duplay, a boy of twelve, lodged in the west wing, as likewise, though probably not till later on, his cousin, Simon Duplay, a youth of fifteen, who had lost a leg at the battle of Valmy, and was frequently to serve as Robespierre's amanuensis.

Duplay and his family had from the first been enthusiastic for the Revolution, for on the 4th February 1790, when, King and Deputies having sworn fidelity to the

future Constitution, the people in the galleries followed suit, he, his wife, son, and nephew were among them. The wife, whose maiden name was Françoise Eléanore Vaugeois, was four years older than her husband. There were four daughters. The eldest was Eleanor, who had assumed or received the fancy name of Cornelia. The second was Sophia, who in 1791 had married Auzat, a barrister in Auvergne. The third, Victoria, did not marry. The youngest, Elisabeth, born in 1773, married on the 26th August 1793 Philippe Lebas, a member of the Convention. They had made each other's acquaintance through Robespierre's sister Charlotte, who then, with the younger brother, Augustin, also lodged with Duplay, and who took Elisabeth with her to the gallery of the Convention, where Lebas asked Charlotte who her companion was. It was a case on both sides of love at first sight. Madame Duplay demurred, indeed, to her youngest daughter being married before her elder sisters, but Robespierre's recommendation of the young man was irresistible.¹ The youngest of the family was a son, Jacques Maurice. The entire family had unbounded admiration for Robespierre. Eleanor seems to have loved him, but whether he intended to marry her is by no means certain.² It is not easy to imagine him in love with anybody but himself. She had no personal attractions, for a portrait of her which was in the possession of Hamel shows coarse features and thick lips. After his death she certainly regarded herself as a kind of widow.³ Charlotte Robespierre describes the mother as very designing. She even alleges that Robespierre advised his brother Augustin to marry Eleanor, but the handsome

¹ A narrative by Madame Lebas, first published in the *Nouvelle Revue*, 1st November 1900, corrects several inaccuracies as to the Duplay household.

² Madame Lebas states, indeed, that they were betrothed, but her recollections were written late in life.

³ Madame Hémery professes to give reminiscences of Eleanor as a fellow art student under Regnault at the Louvre; but if one of the Duplays was really there, it was probably Victoria. In any case her stories of the guillotine carts passing under the studio windows, of the Goddess of Reason being personated by one of the students, and of Mile. Duplay being ironically nicknamed Madame Robespierre and supposed to be secretly married to him, are palpable fictions.

young fellow of twenty-seven had no inclination for a girl decidedly plain. Charlotte, however, is not an impartial authority, for she became so jealous of the Duplays' attentions to Maximilian, and of their having apparently supplanted her in his affections, that she persuaded him to remove with her to lodgings in the adjoining rue St. Florentin, where she could resume her old duties as his housekeeper. But Robespierre had a slight illness, and Madame Duplay, going to inquire for him, and perhaps struck by the discomfort of the lodgings, induced him to return to No. 366. Augustin remained with Charlotte, except when absent from Paris on missions, but Charlotte's position was an unenviable one. Becoming almost a stranger to Maximilian, she quarrelled with Augustin, probably for not siding with her. On the 6th July 1793 she wrote a touching and reproachful letter to him, from which it appears that both brothers were anxious for her return to Arras, especially as she had poured forth her troubles to outsiders.

This letter was apparently sent on to Maximilian, accompanied by a letter in which Augustin declared that she had not a drop of blood in common with them, and he described her as their greatest enemy, calumniating them as unnatural brothers and threatening a scandal.¹ Her letter was preserved by Maximilian, for it was found among his papers, and was published by Courtois as though addressed to him. Good taste would of course have dictated a veil being drawn over family bickerings, and honesty required that the letter, if published at all, should have been given as addressed to Augustin; but neither honesty nor good taste could be expected from Courtois. Poor Charlotte, thus "boycotted," as we should now say, by one brother and censured by the other, must have been very unhappy; yet in April 1794 she accompanied Augustin to Nice, where she is alleged to have styled herself "madame" in lieu of "citoyenne," and to have associated with aristocrats.² She took umbrage,

¹ *Rapport de Courtois.*

² *Moniteur*, xxi. 353.

however, at Augustin's intrigue with Madame Ricord, his colleague's wife, whereupon he sent her back to Paris. There she is said to have attempted a reconciliation with Maximilian, by sending him two pots of jam, but Madame Duplay returned them, saying that she would not allow Robespierre to be poisoned. She then, in May 1794, went by his advice to Arras, the sanguinary Lebon escorting her, and thence to Lille, but shortly before Thermidor, distrusting Lebon, she returned to Paris, to lodge with a friend, Madame Laporte,¹ in a quarter distant from the Duplays.

With the exception of this short interlude, and of a brief visit to his native Arras, Robespierre never quitted Duplay's house. The younger children looked up to him as an elder brother, who interceded when their mother scolded them, and this was evidently in Madame Lebas' mind when in 1845 she told the youthful Sardou, the future dramatist—"I could have loved him, he was so kind and affectionate to young people, and gave them such good advice." Danton, with his disdain for female society, gave Eleanor the nickname of Cornélie Copeau—Cornelia Shavings—and he described Robespierre as surrounded by simpletons and gossips. Robespierre was certainly idolised in a way calculated to foster his love of adulation. La Reveillière Lepaux, in the summer of 1792, was invited by Duplay to spend a day with him at his house in the Champs Elysées, for, not finding a tenant, Duplay seems to have used that house as a suburban retreat. Robespierre and Pétion were present. La Reveillière Lepaux afterwards called on Duplay in the rue St. Honoré. He found Robespierre in the *salon*, in a large armchair, at a table loaded with the finest fruits, fresh butter, pure milk, and fragrant coffee. He was treated like a divinity. Father, mother, and children were all eager to guess and anticipate his wishes. In the adjoining room, the door of which stood open, was his bust, encircled with ornaments, verses, and mottoes, and in the *salon* were portraits of him. He himself was well

¹ Lenotre, *Vieilles Maisons*, 1900.

MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE





combed and powdered, and wore a dressing-gown. According to Esquiros, who derived his information from Elisabeth, he did not dine out more than half-a-dozen times during the three years he spent in this household. He was very fastidious as to cleanliness, especially in dress, and although wigs and powder were beginning to be renounced by the revolutionists, he had every morning a hairdresser—latterly a royalist living at some little distance, that there might be no fear of being bored by gossip or worried by solicitations—to make him presentable. After this ceremony he dined. The afternoon he spent at the Hôtel de Ville when he was public prosecutor for Paris. At six o'clock he returned for supper, as it was then called, and he was remarkably abstemious except that he was fond of oranges and preserved fruits. Oranges he took as a corrective to biliousness, according to Fréron, who also states that at one time he drank freely, but that he was latterly a water-drinker from fear of speaking unguardedly.¹ Fréron would naturally impute sinister motives. In the evening, if the club was not sitting, he walked with the Duplays in the Champs Elysées, accompanied by his dog Brout. He liked to see Savoyard boys dance, and gave them money to divert him. He then sat and talked with the family till nine, when he retired to his study to write letters or prepare speeches, and this often lasted till daybreak. On Thursday evenings Madame Duplay received visitors, and Robespierre read or recited passages from Racine or Corneille, Voltaire or Rousseau. Rousseau, indeed, was his revered master, whom he was proud to have once seen. "I contemplated," he says, "thy august features, and there saw the traces of the bitter vexations to which the injustice of men had doomed thee; thenceforth I comprehended all the joys of a noble life devoted to the worship of truth. . . . Like thee I would fain purchase this blessing (the consciousness of well-doing and the gratitude of nations) at the price of a laborious life, at the price even of a premature death." One can hardly fancy Robespierre

¹ *Autographs, Collection Filon.*

condescending to laugh or even smile, and his speeches may be searched in vain for the parenthesis *on rit*, yet in his time he had written sentimental or frivolous verses. Buonarotti, the future accomplice of the anarchist Babeuf, would play at these receptions on the piano, and Lebas on the violin. The company dispersed at eleven.

This description plainly applies to the early period of Robespierre's stay, before he had ceased to be an opponent of capital punishment, before the Convention and its committees absorbed his time, before he had imbrued his hands in blood, and before Duplay served on the Revolutionary Tribunal. We are invited, indeed, by Hamel to believe that Robespierre only once asked his host what had been done by that infamous body, and that he received the reply, "I never ask you what has been done by the Public Safety Committee," whereupon Robespierre, accepting the rebuke, clasped Duplay's hand. Duplay, however, could not have made a mystery of proceedings which were daily reported in the newspapers, whereas the Public Safety Committee deliberated in secret. If these literary and musical evenings went on when forty lives a day were being sacrificed at the guillotine, it would argue shocking callousness; I prefer to believe that they had been discontinued. The story of Robespierre having the blinds of Duplay's house drawn down on the day of Danton's execution is not authenticated. It would imply that the blinds were not drawn down when other victims passed through the rue St. Honoré. It would appear, moreover, from the plan of the premises that Duplay's front door alone commanded a view, only momentary, of what passed along the street.

Strict watch was latterly kept over Robespierre's safety, for he was believed to be in constant danger of assassination. One of the Duplay daughters is said to have been on guard even during the hairdresser's operations. Barras, in the *Mémoires* published in 1895, tells us how in the spring of 1794, going with Fréron to call on Robespierre, he passed through the archway and the court lined with planks of

wood, and saw Eleanor hanging out to dry the Dictator's ribbed-silk stockings, procured by him from Lyons, how her mother, seated in the court, was preparing a salad. Both mother and daughter would have stopped the visitors, but Fréron, knowing the way, began climbing the stairs, when Eleanor, brushing past him, opened the door and announced the arrivals. All this reads naturally enough, but some discount must be taken from the rest of the description, for Barras represents Robespierre as engaged in his toilette, scraping the powder from his face, brushing his teeth, spitting on the floor or rather on the visitors' boots, neither offering them seats nor answering a syllable to their obsequious greetings.¹

We have seen that Robespierre was in danger of arrest as a republican in June 1791. Was he afterwards a monarchist? Certain it is that from May to August 1792 he published a weekly newspaper entitled *Le Défenseur de la Constitution*, that is to say, of the Constitution accepted by the King in September 1791. In the first number he acknowledges, indeed, that he had criticised the work while in progress, but he now wished it to be carried out, and he attacked the Girondins for not accepting it. "The majority of the nation," he said, "wish to repose under the auspices of the new Constitution in the bosom of liberty." "It is the Constitution which I wish to defend, the Constitution as it is." In the eleventh number he advocated a Convention, for which the existing Deputies, after the precedent of 1791, were to declare themselves ineligible. Both royal and legislative powers were to be restricted, the latter by a frequent or periodical *referendum*. In his twelfth and last number, however, he applauded the overthrow of royalty on the 10th August. Harmand de la Meuse, a member of the Convention, alleges that between the 20th June

¹ Barras and Fréron had reasons for dreading and defaming Robespierre, for he knew that in a letter to the Public Safety Committee of the 1st December 1793 they represented the recapture of Toulon as impossible, recommending the raising of the siege and the retirement of the troops behind the Durance till the spring. This letter, indeed, was ostensibly treated as a forgery, but according to M. Chuquet (*Cosmopolis*, February 1897), this was a comedy to screen them.

and the 10th August 1792 Robespierre was in treaty with the Court, through the Princesse de Lamballe. He was nominally to be tutor to the Dauphin, but while receiving the pay he was not to perform any duties, but was in a newspaper and at the Jacobin club to defend royalty. He was to resign the public prosecutorship to which he had been elected in June 1791. The King, after some demur, had agreed to thus buying over an enemy, but the Queen would not listen to it, and the King gave way to her. Thereupon Robespierre, thinking he had been duped, went over to the republicans.¹

This story of the incorruptible Robespierre offering himself to the Court seems at first sight incredible, but he was actually a candidate for the tutorship of the Dauphin, and he really till the 10th August defended monarchy. He may have had the idea of being a second Mirabeau, the secret adviser of the Court, and of arresting the Revolution in its tempestuous course. He may, too, like Mirabeau, have fancied that in receiving Court pay he would be rendering service not only to the King, but to the nation.² However this may be, he was blind in not foreseeing that the invasion of the Tuileries on the 20th June was the rehearsal of a more serious attack, and that the days of the monarchy were numbered. His sudden evolution and the discontinuance of his paper may be attributed, not as Harmand represents to a rupture of the negotiations, but to the downfall of royalty on the 10th August. The result of that downfall was the calling of the Convention, and Robespierre set about getting himself elected to it. He was a member of the usurping or irregularly chosen Paris Commune of the 10th August, and was shortly afterwards elected a member of the tribunal for trying the "criminals"

¹ *Anecdotes de la Révolution.*

² Mirabeau's sister, curiously enough, was, or professed to be, one of Robespierre's admirers. In a fulsome letter to him of the 19th April 1794 (*Papiers de Robespierre*, 2nd edition), she described herself as constantly attending the Convention and the Jacobin club, and as anxious to serve the Public Safety Committee by teaching reading, writing, and music gratuitously. She apparently wished to be paid not by the parents, but by the Committee.

who had on that day defended the Tuileries; but as he could not hold both functions he declined the latter post. For the Convention he had two strings to his bow—his native department of Pas de Calais and Paris—and both constituencies elected him. Indeed he procured the election also in both of his brother. In Paris, he had himself been chosen vice-president of the electoral assembly (Collot d'Herbois was president), and he was the first of the twenty-four deputies elected, polling 338 votes out of 525. Pétion, his competitor, mustered but 136. This was a thinly attended meeting, for next day Danton was returned by 638 votes out of 700. Augustin Robespierre was only the nineteenth on the list, receiving 392 votes out of 700.¹ In the Pas de Calais, Maximilian was also the first deputy elected, receiving 412 votes out of 724, but he "opted" for Paris.

As a member of the Convention we must no longer picture Robespierre as spending agreeable evenings at Duplay's. The Convention usually met at 11, adjourned for dinner at 4, 5, or 6, and when there were evening sittings, reassembled at 8 and sat till 11 or 12; but from April, 1794, it sat from 11 till 3, 4, or 5, dispensing with night sittings. Robespierre was certainly a regular attendant, and he was president from August 23 to September 6, 1793, and again from the 5th to the 18th June 1794. There were also committee meetings, and the Jacobin club met every alternate night. Robespierre can scarcely have taken more than his first meal at Duplay's. No dining-room was provided, indeed, at the Tuileries for deputies, there being only a refreshment stall, open also to the public, and they went or sent out to restaurants. Thus Lepelletier, when stabbed on the 10th January 1793, was dining at a Palais Royal restaurant. In any case, Robespierre could have had but little time to spend with his hosts.

Passing over Robespierre's movements till the summer of 1794, for to narrate these would be to give the history of the Convention, the first question to be settled is how far

¹ C. 180.

he was responsible for the wholesale butcheries of the Terror. His absence from the Convention and from the Public Safety Committee has enabled his champions to deny such responsibility. Now he certainly absented himself for the last six weeks of his life from the Convention. This was one of the allegations of his enemies,¹ and they could have had no interest in inventing a statement which, if untrue, could have been contradicted not only by the deputies, but by the frequenters of the galleries.

As to the committee we have his own testimony. "For more than six weeks," he said in his speech in the Convention on the 8th Thermidor—and it is curious to find him speaking of "weeks" instead of "decades"—"the nature and strength of calumny, and inability to do good and prevent evil, have forced me entirely to abandon my functions of member of the Public Safety Committee. . . . Behold for at least six weeks my [alleged] dictatorship has ceased. I have no sort of influence in the government. Has patriotism been better protected, or have factions been better repressed? Has the country been happier?"²

Billaud and Barère at the same sitting, and Tallien on the following day, commented on this forty days' absence from the committee.³ Robespierre, as we have seen, does not plead illness as the reason. He had been unwell, indeed, in February 1794, for on the 17th of that month the young republicans of Place Vendôme section sent to inquire for him, and on the 26th, 27th, and 1st March deputations from the Temple and Île St. Louis sections likewise went to inquire. A list of attendances, from the 20th January to the 18th June, at the Public Safety Committee⁴ indicates non-attendance, however, only from the 9th to the 12th March. The committee's register represents that he did not miss a single meeting between the 8th and the 26th July 1794. Yet Barère states that he was expressly summoned to the committee on the 4th Thermidor (July 22), which implies that he had been

¹ Roux, Report of 11th Thermidor.

² *Procès-Verbaux de la Convention*.

³ *Moniteur*, xxi. 530.

⁴ A.F. ii. 23, fol. 186.

absent, and that he then attended, denouncing various members both of that and of the General Security Committee. The probable explanation is that any member of the committee transacting business at the Tuileries or Louvre was entered as present at the meeting of that day, and Robespierre, during his absence from the meetings, was evidently busy at the General Police Bureau on the third or top story of the Louvre, where on the 25th June, by a decree signed by himself alone, he had stationed a gendarme at the door with instructions to keep out all intruders. We know that the Public Safety Committee apportioned the work among its twelve members. There were thus four or five sections or sub-committees, but every decision ostensibly emanated from the entire committee, and bore at least two signatures. Robespierre at first assigned himself to the education section, but afterwards, with St. Just and Couthon, formed the general police sub-committee, which received denunciations from the Paris sections, and gave directions to Fouquier-Tinville as to what prisoners were to be brought to trial.¹ St. Just was away from Paris much of the time on missions to the armies; Couthon, as is well known, was a cripple, and Robespierre practically did everything. He continued to correspond, moreover, with the deputies and other persons sent on provincial missions, and only seven days before his fall he wrote a long letter to general Pichegru on the impending invasion of Holland, in which he foreshadowed the transplantation of the Dutch into France, and the abandonment of their country to the ocean.² In short, he continued to hold in his hand all the threads of government, and Benjamin Vaughan, M.P. for Colne, addressed to him from Geneva on the 14th July a letter on foreign policy as though he were a veritable dictator.

According to the statement of Carnot (Minutes of the

¹ See pamphlet by Augustin Lejeune, reprinted by Bégis in *Curiosités Révolutionnaires*.

² The authenticity of this letter, however, is contested. Vaughan, who sympathised with the Revolution, and had fled from England for fear of prosecution, was absurdly represented by Barère as an emissary of Pitt.

Convention, 3 Germinal, an iii.), Robespierre and St. Just took charge of general police; Collot d'Herbois and Billaud de Varenne corresponded with the deputies sent on missions; Barère attended to foreign affairs, and also in the absence of Jeanbon St. André to the navy. Carnot alleges that the main responsibility for any decree rests with the man first signing it, but even if this is the rule, there are notable exceptions. The order for the arrest of Danton had eighteen signatures; Robespierre's was the seventeenth, yet the arrest was undoubtedly his act. Cambon, we know, attended to finance; and Hérault de Séchelles had been guillotined.

According to St. Just's partially delivered last speech, Couthon was generally absent, Pierre Louis Prieur (de la Marne) had been eight months absent in the provinces (he was, in fact, absent in Thermidor), Claude Prieur (de la Côte d'Or) shut himself up in his office, absorbed in the manufacture of gunpowder, Lindet was also buried in his office (he was often, moreover, away on missions), and Jeanbon St. André was in the provinces. The committee, said St. Just, had thus been in the hands of two or three members, and he argues that six signatures should be henceforth required for any decree. This statement may be accepted as substantially accurate, and it helps us to understand how the business of the committee was transacted in sections, the so-called sittings being almost a pure form.

There was friction, moreover, between the Public Safety and the General Security Committees, whose functions were not clearly separated, and Vadier, on behalf of the latter, had brought ridicule on Robespierre by his report on the insane prophesyings of Catherine Théos. Although he only twice attended the committee—once to justify his order for the arrest of the Place Royale section (ultra-revolutionary) committee, and the second time when expressly summoned—he sent down to the committee from his upper room reports received by him, and these he annotated with such remarks as “arrest the persons here named,” or “refer to St. Just that he may bring the traitor

to justice." He is said, moreover, to have gone to the committee room at five in the afternoon, when he knew nobody was there, and signed what decrees he chose among those lying on the table. In this way his signature appears in decrees of the 5th, 6th, 7th, 16th, 19th, and 26th Messidor, and of the 2nd and 7th Thermidor. Indeed, in his speech of the 8th Thermidor he stated that in the temporary absence of a colleague (St. Just) he took charge of the General Police Bureau, and signed thirty decrees, some for arrests, some for liberations. These decrees, though emanating from Robespierre alone, bore the name of the Public Safety Committee. One of them, dated the 22nd June 1794, converted into a prison the Collège des Quatre Nations (the present Institute). Now if Robespierre, from his upper room at the Louvre, directed Fouquier-Tinville, his responsibility for the judicial massacres is manifest. In Messidor (June 19 to July 18) there were 796 victims, and from the 6th to the 9th Thermidor there were 342, whereas in Prairial there had been only 509. Thus during Robespierre's absence from the committee, and his upper-room labours, the average daily executions, allowing for the Décadi rest, numbered thirty-one. But even if we assume that he did not immediately direct Fouquier-Tinville during this period as previously—a note in his own handwriting on the 3rd Germinal summons Fouquier to confer with the Public Safety Committee¹—the responsibility reverts to the committee, on which St. Just and Couthon, his confidants, continued to act. These two men certainly did not utter a word of remonstrance against this bloodshed, nor did Robespierre in his last speech make the bloodshed a matter of reproach against the committee. Fouquier's defence, when charged with being the tool of Robespierre, was that he himself never went to the General Police Bureau, and did not even know in what room it sat, but that the orders for prosecutions were received by him in the committee's room, and were headed "Extracts from the Registers of

¹ W. 76.

the Public Safety Committee." Fouquier's veracity when defending himself is not worth much, but it seems likely enough that Robespierre, always fond of keeping in the background,¹ really avoided seeing his tool, and sent his orders in this indirect way. Prieur asserts, however, that he had frequent conferences with the judges of the revolutionary tribunal.² In any case, contemporaries were right in holding him mainly responsible for the executions. The theory of his champions that he intended to stop the bloodshed is utterly unfounded. His very last utterances breathed threatenings and slaughter.

Before relating his fall a word should be said of his two colleagues. Like Robespierre, St. Just was unmarried, and no father of a family would have proposed, as he did, that children should be taken from their parents and be entirely brought up by the State. He plagiarised, no doubt unconsciously, from Swift, also a celibate, who describes parents as being considered in Lilliput peculiarly unfitted for the charge of their offspring. Or he may have read Philipon de la Madeleine's *Vues Patriotiques sur l'Éducation du Peuple*, which proposed that the State, to secure a race equal to the old Persians, Germans, and Gauls, should bring up all the children of the working-class from six to twelve years of age. The *Journal Général*, reviewing this treatise on the 19th February 1784, said:—"This national education is only a project, but it will certainly be realised one day by nations other than the Persians." The youngest of the "Terrorists," for he was only twenty-seven, whereas Chaumette was thirty-one, Danton thirty-five, Robespierre thirty-six, and Couthon thirty-eight,³ St. Just may be called the Terrorist thinker, for any originality in ideas was confined to him. He had a gift of terse, epigrammatic phrases, and he was doomed to exemplify one of them—"the rest of revolutionists is in the tomb." Danton's philosophy, whether

¹ He furnished notes to St. Just for his mendacious accusations against Danton.

² *Mémoires de Carnot*.

³ Vadier was the only elderly man on the two committees; he was 58.

or not he uttered the phrase, was "It is now our turn for riotous living." As for Robespierre, he was simply a disciple of Rousseau. Yet St. Just's scheme of mutual fault-finding was obviously borrowed from the monastic orders which he had helped to suppress. The Perfectionists of Oneida Creek adopted the same plan, and it is curious to find Anti-Catholic theorists thus imitating Catholics. Amid the general unsainting of names of persons and places, St. Just, though dropping the *de* to which he was entitled, retained the obnoxious prefix, and the name seems to have been pronounced by his contemporaries "St. Ju." "Ju" by itself would therefore have too ludicrously suggested the word *jus*, gravy. He consequently remains one of the examples of names going by contraries. He was certainly neither saint nor just, and Lebon and Rossignol answered as little to their names. Going up to Paris in September 1792 to take his seat in the Convention, he hired, for seventy-two francs a month, two rooms on the second floor in the hôtel des États-Unis, rue Gaillon. There he remained till the 16th March 1794, when he removed to the rue Caumartin. On the 10th Thermidor, the day of his execution, the landlady of the rue Gaillon went to the Bibliothèque section to represent that 748 francs were due to her for rent, postage, and sundries. St. Just had left with her a blue coat and a basket of papers. These papers the landlady brought with her, and they were sent to the Public Safety Committee.¹ If her story was true, St. Just had thus left about ten months' arrears of rent. Had she been afraid to press for payment, lest he should have her arrested as a suspect? However this may be, the Archives contain a large number of letters addressed to him as a member of the committee.² Some of them, published by Courtois, were perhaps found in the basket, while there is a second batch of papers all in disorder and devoid of interest.³

Georges Couthon, who had dubbed himself Aristides, though far inferior to St. Just in mental capacity, is perhaps

¹ A.F. ii. 30.

² A.F. ii. 30.

³ T. 1666.

more popularly known, on account of his being paralysed and of his fondness for a lapdog. An advocate at Clermont, he had about 1788, perhaps at an earlier date, fallen into a swamp in a nocturnal expedition of gallantry, and had nearly lost the use of his legs. He was elected to the Convention out of sympathy for his infirmity. He was subject to fits of pain, until the atrophy in his limbs was far advanced. He had to be carried in a chair to the Convention from the cour de Manège, close by the Tuileries, a building attached to the royal riding-school, whence he ordered on the 8th Thermidor the expulsion in twenty-four hours of all his co-tenants.¹ Whether he used or could have used crutches is uncertain. The well-known legend, however, is that when on the 9th Thermidor Fréron denounced the triumvirs as conspiring to mount the throne, he held up his crutches and exclaimed, "*I to mount a throne!*"² His supposed amiability had conduced to his election. He habitually had a lapdog on his knees, and he professed to have never hurt even a chicken, yet later on he is accused of boasting that he would see the Girondins beheaded without averted gaze.

What would have been the fate of these two men had Robespierre triumphed it is useless to conjecture. Some think that St. Just would have overthrown Robespierre. What is certain is that neither St. Just nor Couthon proved of much service in the crisis.

But to revert to Robespierre. His six weeks' absence from the committee was ominous. It unmistakably foreshadowed an appeal either to the Convention, or, as some apprehended, to the mob. He was accordingly summoned to attend on the 22nd July, and was forced, as it were, to show his cards. He had spoken at the Jacobin club, on the 1st July, of conspiracies against him among his colleagues, and had said, "If I were forced to renounce a portion of the functions entrusted to me, there would still

¹ *Moniteur*, ii. 366.

² Another and more probable version is that, charged with conspiring, he pointed to his legs and asked, "How should *I* conspire?"

remain my capacity of representative of the people, and I should carry on war to the death against tyrants and conspirators.”¹ At the joint-committee meeting on the 22nd he indulged in vague reproaches, and St. Just, who advocated a kind of dictatorship, yet without naming Robespierre, was commissioned to draw up a report on the state of public opinion. “Govern France,” he said, “by patriotic reputations,” but according to another version he distinctly named Robespierre, and, according to Barère, he proposed the doubling of the revolutionary tribunal, that is to say, four courts instead of two, in order to expedite the trials.

Robespierre then commenced preparing the two hours’ speech which he delivered in the Convention on the 8th Thermidor (26th July). It advocated the remodelling of the General Security Committee, its subordination to the Public Safety Committee, and some changes in the composition of the latter. His enemies printed the speech after his fall—numerous erasures included—and there is no reason to question the fidelity of the text. It is all in Robespierre’s usual vein—full of self-laudation, vague complaints, and denunciations. Even St. Just, in his speech next day, acknowledged that it was too vague as to those whom it inculpated, and that Robespierre had not explained himself with sufficient clearness.

Every history of the Revolution describes the scene which followed its delivery. Lecointre proposed that the speech should be printed and circulated—the compliment usually paid to elaborate written addresses. Bourdon objected on account of the gravity of its tenour, and advocated its reference, as was customary, to the two committees; but Barère supported the motion, and Couthon proposed that a copy should be sent to every parish in France. This was agreed to, but Vadier and Cambon then repelled Robespierre’s attacks, Cambon even denouncing him as having “paralysed the Convention” in its financial management. Robespierre, in a few sentences, justified

¹ *Moniteur*, xxi. 131.

his attack on Cambon, but Billaud de Varenne reopened the question of printing the speech, and Panis called upon Robespierre to say whether he and Couthon had not drawn up a list of proscripts in which figured Fouché and himself. Robespierre made an evasive reply. Charlier insisted on the reference of the speech to the committees, but Robespierre objected that this would be a reference to the very men whom he had accused. "Name them," retorted Charlier, and several voices echoed the cry, but Robespierre again evaded the challenge. Thirion and Bréard then proposed the rescinding of the vote, and this was agreed to. The speech was to be printed indeed, but only for distribution among the deputies. Robespierre was accordingly asked for his manuscript, but he told the secretary he would hand it in next day. He meant, in fact, first to read it again at the Jacobin club, to which, more than to the Convention, it was really addressed. Barère then read reports of victories, accompanied with his usual rhetoric, and the sitting ended at five o'clock.

In the evening Robespierre went to the Jacobin club. Vivier presided. We know little of what passed, except from the vague complaints of the minority. Collot seems to have been refused priority. Robespierre read his speech over again. Nothing but blind adulation could have prevented the clubbists from feeling bored by this two hours' infliction, and we may be sure that Robespierre omitted nothing in his interminable manuscript. When he said "If I am to dissemble these truths let the hemlock be offered me,"¹ the painter David exclaimed, "I will drink it with thee," and this was noisily echoed by the meeting. Augustin denounced the committees as corrupt, and Dumas, a judge of the revolutionary tribunal, advocated the "purging" of the Convention. Billaud and Collot were refused a hearing. The former, hustled and threatened,

¹ In a passage expunged he had thus varied the phrase: "Let them prepare the hemlock for me, I will await it on these sacred seats. I shall at least leave my country an example of constant love for it, and to the enemies of mankind opprobrium and death."

hastened to the Tuileries, where meanwhile the Public Safety Committee was sitting. St. Just was there present, and announced that he should speak in the Convention next day, but promised before the committee separated at 5 A.M. to submit his speech to it at 10. The committee accordingly assembled at that hour, but waited in vain for St. Just, and there was an altercation between Carnot and Couthon.

The Convention likewise met at 10. The galleries, in the expectation of a crisis, had been crowded since 5. The entire Duplay family were there. The father had doubtless been at the Jacobins overnight, and Robespierre is said to have told him that though he could no longer count on the Mountain the mass of the Convention would listen to him. The two Robespierres were escorted from Duplay's by a volunteer bodyguard. Maximilian, more carefully curled and powdered than usual, wore the dark violet coat and nankeen breeches in which seven weeks before he had appeared at the festival of the Supreme Being. It was now nonidi, the 9th Thermidor, year 2, that is to say Sunday, the 27th July 1794. It was a cloudy day, but not sultry; indeed, with the exception of the 23rd, it was the coolest day of the month, the thermometer at 3 P.M. showing 75 degrees, and falling at night to 60.¹

Routine business occupied the Convention till noon, when St. Just sent word to the committee that, wounded by what had been said to him at last night's meeting, he had decided not to submit his speech, but was now about to deliver it. The committee accordingly hurried to the Convention, and St. Just began what would have been an hour's speech in the same strain as Robespierre; but he pointedly attacked Billaud, and passed reflections on the military dictatorship of Carnot, who in fact three days previously had sent to the frontier a portion of the Paris artillery, a measure too opportune to have been a mere coincidence. But St. Just had only uttered a few sentences

¹ *Abbréviateur Universel*, 1794.

when he was interrupted by Tallien. Billaud, moreover, denounced the riotous scene overnight at the Jacobins, and pointed out in the gallery one of the ringleaders who had threatened the lives of the deputies. "Arrest him!" shouted deputies, and the man was taken away in custody amid frantic applause. Billaud, who had a good voice and delivery, proceeded to complain of St. Just's breach of faith, and Lebas, persistently demanding a hearing before Billaud had ended, was called to order by president Collot. Billaud attacked Robespierre as a would-be tyrant, and protested that not a single deputy would think life worth having under a tyrant. "No, perish tyrants!" shouted the deputies.

When Billaud descended the tribune, Robespierre, who, not taking his usual place on "the Mountain," had all the time been standing near it, advanced towards it, but there were cries of "Down with the tyrant!" and Tallien denounced him as a second Cromwell. "I have come with a dagger," he said, "to pierce his breast if the Convention has not the courage to order his arrest." He wound up an excited harangue by proposing that the Convention should sit *en permanence*, and that Hanriot, the head of the 110,000 National Guards, should with his satellites be arrested. This was agreed to. Robespierre meanwhile was either at the tribune or at the foot of it, claiming a hearing,¹ but deputies again shouted, "Down with the tyrant!" Thuriot, who by this time had as vice-president taken the chair in Collot's place, probably by arrangement because of his greater muscular force, drowned Robespierre's shrill voice by violently ringing his bell, accompanied by exclamations of, "Tu n'as pas la

¹ According to Barère, Robespierre, who had been seated at the foot of the tribune, ascended it simultaneously with himself, claiming to be first heard, but amid cries of "Down with the tyrant" Barère obtained priority. During his speech, however, Robespierre remained standing at the tribune, hat in hand, and did not descend till his arrest was ordered (*Mémoires*). But Barère exaggerates his own share in the overthrow of Robespierre. What is certain is that the Thermidorians feared that if Robespierre obtained a hearing he would win over the Convention.

parole." Robespierre had probably by this time shouted himself hoarse, so that he could no longer use his voice, but it is not likely that he was taunted with the remark, "Danton's blood chokes thee," for nobody as yet thought of vindicating the memory of Danton. It is believed that seeing "the Mountain," the Jacobins sitting on the upper benches, against him he made a despairing appeal to "the Plain," the timorous men who to save their own lives had abstained from opposition to all excesses. "Upright and virtuous men," he exclaimed, "grant me the hearing which assassins refuse me." But they, in confabulations of the previous night, had agreed to join in overturning him on condition of the revolutionary tribunal slackening its terrible pace. They were consequently deaf to Robespierre's appeal. His arrest was proposed, whereupon his brother and Couthon manfully demanded to share his fate. St. Just, who had remained silent after his speech had been stopped, was also included in the list, and the arrests were unanimously voted. "The brigands triumph" were among Robespierre's last words, if we may trust the *Moniteur*, and though its report was not published till two days after, when all was over, it is not likely to have invented the exclamation.¹

At the instance of Collot, St. Just was required to hand in the manuscript of his speech. Collot accused the Robespierrists of contemplating a repetition of the 31st May, that is to say, the coercing and purging of the Convention, whereupon Robespierre exclaimed, "You lie." This excited great uproar, and Clansel insisted that the ushers should carry out the orders of arrest. President Thuriot explained that the ushers had gone up to the accused, but that they had refused to stir from their places. This implies that Robespierre, after his ineffectual attempts to speak, had quitted the tribune. Lozeau demanded that

¹ Vol. xxi. 335. The *Moniteur* acknowledged (xxiv. 95) that its reports previous to Thermidor were frequently revised by the Public Safety Committee, and that on the 23rd Prairial in particular, when the Convention decided that its members could not be prosecuted without its own consent, considerable alterations were made.

the accused should, like the Girondins on a similar occasion, descend to the bar. "Yes, yes, to the bar!" shouted several deputies, the Convention decided accordingly, and the five doomed men—or rather four, for Couthon must have been carried by his bearers—went down to the bar. Up to this point we are not told what had been the demeanour of the galleries, crowded with people who must have been mostly Robespierrists, and certainly numerous enough to have attempted a rescue. But when Collot exclaimed "Never will the French people tolerate a tyrant," the galleries joined the deputies in echoing the cry. They would doubtless have cheered Robespierre had he triumphed, for a mob is notoriously fickle. The sitting was suspended at five o'clock. The deputies went off to dinner, and dinner was provided for the prisoners in the ante-room of the General Security Committee, whither they had been taken. Carriages were then sent for, and Robespierre was taken to the Luxembourg, Augustin to St. Lazare, St. Just to the Scotch College, Couthon to Port Royal, and Lebas to La Force, all to be kept in solitary confinement. The Tuileries section¹ had received orders, moreover, at half-past three to place seals on Robespierre's and Couthon's papers. But at two o'clock the Commune had sent directions to all the prisons to admit no fresh inmates. St. Just and Couthon were nevertheless admitted at the Scotch College and Port Royal, but St. Lazare had refused to receive Augustin and the Conciergerie to receive Lebas, whereupon both were taken to La Force. Robespierre also was refused admission at the Luxembourg, but he asked the officer to take him to the Mairie or municipal police-office, quai des Orfèvres, at the back of the Palace of Justice and Conciergerie. This was used as a prison, so that Robespierre by going thither remained nominally a prisoner, though with friendly keepers. He contemplated awaiting there either the triumph of the Commune or a trial and triumphant acquittal by the

¹ Not the Place Vendôme section, the fidelity of which was evidently considered doubtful.

tribunal, and the latter would perhaps have been the result. But the leaders of the Commune, Fleuriot-Lescot, the mayor, Payan, the public prosecutor, and Hanriot, head of the National Guards, had resolved on resistance to the Convention.

Although Dumas had been arrested, not as commonly stated, while sitting at the revolutionary tribunal, but at his own house, his day's work being over, the forty-five prisoners condemned by him had meanwhile been sent off as usual at 4 P.M. to the guillotine at the place du Trone. There is no foundation for the legend, adopted by Carlyle and Michelet, of an attempted rescue. Even if the conflict between Robespierre and the Convention had then been generally known, that part of the city was in proximity to the Commune at the Hôtel de Ville and under its influence. The story seems to have arisen from a stir that afternoon among the masons at work at a sugar refinery in the faubourg St. Antoine, occasioned by the promulgation by the Commune, on the 6th, of the maximum or tariff of wages. The 9th, the eve of the Jacobin Sabbath, being pay-day, that tariff was then for the first time put in force, and occasioned discontent. The uproar is recorded in the register of the Quatre Nations section.¹ It is true that Sanson, the executioner, suggested a postponement till next day, on account, not of fear of rescue, but of this disturbance; but Fouquier directed him to start all the same. Equally devoid of truth is the assertion of Barras that he saved from the scaffold two cartloads of prisoners—whether on the 9th or the 10th he does not explain—whom Fouquier was sending off for execution. The persons condemned on the 9th were executed by 7 P.M., as the minutes of the military escorts show,² and the 10th was the Sabbath, when the tribunal, as also on the 20th and 30th of each month, rested, though it was destined to meet specially on that day to order the execution of Robespierre and his confederates. The objections offered moreover on the 10th to the suspension of the tribunal

¹ F. 2507.

² Martel, *Types Révolutionnaires*, ii. 382.

show that there had been no intention of stopping the Terror, much less of avenging or rehabilitating Danton or the Girondins, who were still denounced even on the 10th. The stories of people who would have been guillotined on the 11th but for Robespierre's fall are likewise mythical. A list of fourteen persons for trial on the 11th had been prepared, but it contains no name of any prominence.¹

But let me return to the Commune. The Convention had, that morning, abolished the office of commander of the National Guard, resolving that each head of a battalion should command in rotation; but Hanriot, defying this decree, like that for his arrest, had galloped down to the Tuileries to release Robespierre and his associates. He arrived, however, too late, and was himself apprehended. But Coffinhal, one of the revolutionary tribunal judges, went to the rescue, and Hanriot, liberated after an hour's detention, delivered a fervid harangue, which induced some of the gendarmes on duty to desert their posts and accompany him back to the Hôtel de Ville. If, instead of returning thither, he had marched into the Convention, he might probably have overpowered it and thus secured the triumph of his party; but he was perhaps afraid of disobeying orders and acting on his own initiative, lest he should afterwards be disavowed and possibly guillotined.

The tocsin meanwhile had been ringing and drums beating to summon the National Guard, and from six o'clock 80 or 90 of the 144 members of the Commune had been deliberating. They sent orders to the sections to despatch each two delegates to take the oath to save the Republic. Robespierre, quite content to remain with his friendly jailors and with a courtyard full of sympathisers to wait events, refused to stir when invited by a deputation to join the Commune; but a second deputation followed, with a letter, which said, "You do not belong to yourself,

¹ U. 1021. Not only these fourteen, but those also remaining of the 456 persons ordered for prosecution on the 2nd, may be regarded as saved by the 10th Thermidor. They included MacSwiney, a captain in Berwick's Franco-Irish regiment, and Samuel Baldwin, an English teacher of languages, alleged to be a spy.

but should entirely belong to the country, to the people." He could no longer refuse. Escorted by Hanriot, and passing through the Palace of Justice, he crossed the Seine and the place de Grève, and at about eleven o'clock reached the Hôtel de Ville. His brother had already arrived, as well as St. Just and Lebas. Couthon, who had also refused to stir, yielded only to a letter from Robespierre and St. Just, found afterwards in his pocket, which said: "Couthon, all the patriots are proscribed. The entire people have risen, and it would be betraying them not to come to the Maison Commune (Hôtel de Ville) where we are." According to the concierge, he did not leave the prison till one o'clock on the 10th.¹ Among the decrees issued by the Commune was one offering a civic crown to any one arresting Carnot, Fouché, Tallien, and eleven other deputies, as "enemies of the people," in order to "rescue the Convention from their oppression." This shows that the Commune felt the necessity of pretending to uphold the Convention, just as the Long Parliament used the name of Charles I. in making war against him. Robespierre is said, however, to have hesitated signing manifestoes, that night, asking "In whose name?"

Meanwhile the Convention had resumed its sitting at seven o'clock, but the imprudent suspension for dinner had seriously compromised its position. Everything depended on the section battalions, or National Guards, and some of these were wavering, while others were awaiting the decisions of the section committees. And the die may be said to have depended on the sections nearest to the Tuileries, for the Louvre being already in the hands of the insurgents, the Convention was in danger of siege and capture. The insurgents might enter the hall, arrest or expel all the refractory deputies, and induce the remainder to rescind all the decisions of the morning, thus obtaining for themselves the semblance of legality.

How many of the sections leaned to the Commune it is not easy to say. The Public Safety Committee a.

¹ F. 7, 4433.

few days afterwards required them to furnish reports of their proceedings on the 9th and 10th, evidently with a view to the detection and execution of Robespierrists. Sections which had temporised or had actually sided with the Commune had consequently every temptation to tamper with their records. This was easy where the minutes were taken on loose sheets of paper before being posted, so to speak, into the ledgers or registers. A leaf could scarcely be torn out of the latter without being remarked, but this was ventured upon in the Luxembourg section, while in the Thermes section a Dr. Bach managed to get everything inculcating himself struck out from the loose sheets. Some sections sent in a full copy of their minutes, but others only a summary. Other registers, as is evident from the different shades of ink or different handwritings, were posted up from hour to hour, and give a faithful picture of what occurred. Each section, however, as we have seen, had four committees, and these in certain cases differed in opinion. Some sections acknowledge that their National Guards were at first misled or had wavered. Thus the Lombards battalion at first declared for the Commune, but on better information withdrew. The Tuileries section was faithful to the Convention, and though the commander of the battalion refused to march to its assistance, the officer second in command did so. In the Roi de Sicile section there was a lively scene. The gunners were for joining Hanriot, but their commandant refused. They hustled the committee who attempted to remonstrate, had a scuffle with their fellow-guards, and eventually marched with the guns to the Hôtel de Ville, but late at night were arrested.¹ The Thermes section sent commissaries to the Hôtel de Ville for information, but one of them, pulled by the sleeve and pressed to sign the attendance sheet, slipped away.² Forty-three of the signatures thus given were afterwards retracted, and the signers, though put on trial, were with one exception acquitted. The Halle-au-Blé section arrested

¹ F. 7, 2498.

² F. 7, 2511.

the Commune messengers, and the Grenelle section burnt the orders sent by the Commune. The Pantheon and several other sections refused to obey the summons of the Hôtel de Ville, while others sent delegates both to the Commune and the Convention, so that whichever triumphed they could claim to have taken the right—that is, the winning side. Their plea was that they sent to the Commune merely to obtain information. Eighty-one delegates in all signed the attendance sheet at the Hôtel de Ville,¹ which would imply the adhesion of forty-two committees but not necessarily of forty-two sections. Among them, moreover, was Arthur, who signed as delegate of the Place Vendôme section; yet he was himself a member of the Commune, and could not properly be a delegate. He was virtually, indeed, the leader of the insurrection, the leading man of the five forming the executive committee. Several of the orders of the Commune issued that night are in his bold handwriting, one of them being an order to sound the tocsin,² whereas the Public Safety Committee had prohibited this, as also the closing of the barriers. Yet though Arthur represented the Place Vendôme section on the Commune, that section was wavering or hostile, for Robespierre was in the act of signing an appeal to it when the crash came. The minutes of this section are therefore of special interest, and will give a fair idea of what happened in other parts of Paris:—

9-10 Thermidor. At 7 P.M. the [revolutionary] committee met. Considering the circumstances, it declared the sitting permanent, and adopted a resolution not to separate till it received orders from the General Security and Public Safety Committees. Three of our members said they had been requisitioned at four o'clock to accompany citizen Lesueur [Leseurre, ex-procureur], bearer of orders of the General Safety Committee for the arrest of Nuliard, of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and Lebas, deputy of the National Convention. At eight o'clock Monsieur Maillefeur presented himself to the committee and requisitioned one of our

¹ F. 7, 4433.

² A.F. ii. 47.

members for the arrest of Chatelet, juror of the tribunal. Citizen Lamtret, secretary-general of the Security Committee, also appeared before the committee and requisitioned a commissary for the arrest of St. Just. At 9.30 one of our members went to the house of detention, rue des Capucines, to enjoin the strictest watch over the prisoners, and at the request of the officer of the guardhouse a reinforcement was sent him. At this moment the president read a decree of the Public Safety and General Security Committees which enjoined the Revolutionary Committees to be at their posts, and asked for hourly reports of the events which might occur. The Paris Commune sent a summons to the committee to go thither and take the oath to save the country. The committee passed to the order of the day [*i.e.* refused], it being at its post, and in existing circumstances it would only obey orders emanating from the joint committees of the Convention. Citizens Briffaut and Philipon, commanding the armed force of the section, frequently came to the committee in accordance with the instructions sent them to notify the good spirit which prevailed among the citizens, who awaited and would obey only the orders of the Convention to march. At 11.30 citizen Mugin came to communicate to citizen Briffaut an order from citizen Goupilleau, representative of the people, by which half the armed force of the section was requisitioned to march to the Convention to protect it. After several observations made by the commandant on the reading of the order of citizen Goupilleau, together with that of citizen Collot d'Herbois, whom he had previously seen, a member gave his opinion that he should at once march, which the commandant accordingly did. At the same moment citizen Maillefeur returned to fetch a member to return to the house of Chatelet, juror of the tribunal. The general assembly being formed at midnight, the committee constantly watched over the spirit which prevailed, and saw with warm satisfaction that there was no agitation, and that although the individuals arrested dwelt in the section they found no supporters. After the reading of the proclamation [of the Convention] it was resolved that a deputation of twenty-four members should go to the Convention. Several sections sent deputations to announce that they had taken a like step. Citizen Payan, a member of the Convention, presented himself, to place himself at the head of the armed force of the section, a detachment of which had already started at midnight, commanded by citizen Briffaut, to go with him to the Convention. The sitting ended, and six men remained to receive the deputations. Citizen Payan assumed the command of

the armed force, and during this interval various patrols mounted guard to protect the public buildings. The sitting was suspended at eight in the morning.¹

Although the Jacobin club was situated in this section, its members must have chiefly consisted of people from other quarters, for the section comprised the principal shops in Paris, viz. those in the rue St. Honoré. The section moreover had a club of its own, which seems to have been regarded with suspicion by its formidable neighbour. The Jacobin club refused it the so-called affiliation—that is to say, refused to recognise it as a sister or branch society. Apparently to wipe off the reproach of moderateism, this sectional club in January 1794 had undergone a “purge.” A committee excluded all members who had voted against Hanriot as commander of the National Guard, and it “postponed” others. The latter could not be readmitted unless fifteen persons testified in their favour. The report of this operation, by Moussard, acknowledges that out of 5000 inhabitants of the section only 400 belonged to the club. “Yes, revolutionary men are few in number, but we shall nevertheless triumph.” All this shows that Robespierre had few adherents among his immediate neighbours, and explains the adhesion of the Place Vendôme section to the Convention.

Eleven sectional general meetings, two revolutionary, nine civil, and one correspondence committees sent their adhesion to the Commune, not to speak of the Jacobin club, which had met at three o'clock, had refused an application from the General Security Committee for Robespierre's manuscript, and had sent delegates to the Commune. On the other hand, the minutes of the Convention show that thirty-nine sectional committees presented themselves before the issue was known, with assurances of fidelity.

The Convention conferred on Barras the military

¹ F. 7, 2475. All in one handwriting and ink, without erasures, and evidently written at the time, the next day's minutes being in different ink.

command, it outlawed Robespierre and his associates as having broken loose from prison, and it outlawed the Commune also as in a state of rebellion. Fleuriot-Lescot, indeed, had scornfully torn up the summons of the Convention to appear at the bar, saying to the usher, "We shall come, but the people with us also." At eleven o'clock the Convention despatched twelve of its members, attired with scarf and sword, to go the round of the sections, and announce the decrees of outlawry. The decrees were also cried about midnight, between the Tuileries and the quai du Louvre, by torchlight, for the lamps were not then lit in summer, and the moon was only two days old.

Meanwhile Hanriot had mustered his forces in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and it seems clear that had he marched to the Tuileries he would have encountered little or no resistance. But the Commune gave him no orders for taking the offensive, and evidently had no apprehension of being itself attacked. At midnight a heavy rain set in.¹ During these hours of inaction, Hanriot's force doubtless discussed matters among themselves and with the people drawn by curiosity to the spot. By-and-by the decrees of outlawry became known. Was it the effect of these or of the rain that the men gradually took French leave, and left the square nearly empty? Hanriot manifestly should have been present to keep them in hand, but he was inside the Hôtel de Ville, perhaps drinking, perhaps conferring or gossiping with the Commune. At half-past two, delegates from the Jacobin club again presented themselves, and this is the last entry on the minutes of the Commune. Only forty members were then in attendance; the other forty or fifty were either in committee-rooms or had gone home to sleep—the latter supposition would account for only about twenty members being arrested in the building. Robespierre and his confederates were in an anteroom adjoining the hall. What was he waiting for? Apparently for a larger force, inasmuch as he was signing an appeal to the Place Vendôme section. He was not the man to mount

¹ The Seine rose an inch that night.

on horseback and harangue the populace. Perhaps he could not ride, for he is said to have unsuccessfully attempted equitation in Parc Monceau ; he certainly could not improvise speeches. St. Just, too, except on his provincial missions, was more a man of talk than of action. His very last speech had a lame and impotent conclusion, viz. a mere resolution that in the forthcoming Constitution arbitrary power, ambition, and oppression, or usurpation against the Convention should be prevented. And Couthon was a cripple. As for the Commune, Robespierre had guillotined Chaumette and his associates, the only men of initiative and daring. It had since been his subservient tool ; it was incapable of conducting an insurrection. He had also in March induced the Convention to disband the so-called "revolutionary army," comprising 6000 Parisians of the worst class, with Ronsin at its head. This step was taken on account, not of its scandalous excesses at Lyons and elsewhere, but of its Hébertism.

While Robespierre was thus waiting for reinforcements, so that at daylight the Convention might be attacked and "purged," Barras and Bourdon had succeeded in collecting the Gravilliers, Lombards, and Arcis battalions, and at about one o'clock Barras led one column up the rue St. Honoré, towards the Hôtel de Ville, while Bourdon headed a second column which advanced along the quays. Bourdon found the place de Grève nearly empty, and the few of Hanriot's followers still remaining there either fled or joined him. He seized on all the doors, and forced his way into the Hôtel de Ville. Hanriot, finding that all was lost, flung himself out of a window, but was not seriously injured. Augustin Robespierre did the like, and was bruised and battered. Lebas shot himself, and probably offered a second pistol to Robespierre. Couthon, trying to creep down a staircase, fell senseless from knocking his head against the wall. Robespierre was found lying near a table, his lower jaw fractured by a pistol-shot ; he had no cravat or shoes, his stockings were down at the heels, his coat and shirt were stained with blood, his trousers

unbuttoned. Had he attempted suicide, or had he been shot by Merda? We shall never know for certain. The braggart Merda's first version¹ was that he snatched a knife from Robespierre—perhaps the pocket-knife which Robespierre, during the scene in the Convention, had been nervously fingering, holding it open in his hand—and that with it he stabbed Couthon. On second thoughts he claimed to have shot Robespierre.² The daily broadside issued by the Convention stated on the 10th that "Robespierre fired his pistol into his mouth, and received at the same time a shot from a gendarme, that the tyrant fell, bathed in his own blood, and that a sansculotte went up to him and coolly uttered these words—'There is a Supreme Being.'" According to Bochard, the concierge of the Hôtel de Ville, Robespierre fired at himself, but missed, very nearly shooting Bochard, and then, rushing off, stumbled on him. This would account for his disordered toilette, which implies a fall or a scuffle. The description given of the wound leaves the question doubtful.³ Fréron asserts that Robespierre habitually carried a pair of pistols in his pocket, and that latterly he had practised shooting in a garden. Considering the "hemlock" passage in his speech, and his classical tastes, he probably fired at himself in a bungling fashion. Merda may have also fired and missed. Both Barras and Barère describe Robespierre as attempting suicide.

As soon as the Convention had triumphed, there was, of course, a throng of sectional and other deputations who were profuse in congratulations. But let us turn from this sickening spectacle and watch what became of the vanquished. Lebas, alone, had killed himself; St. Just had

¹ *Moniteur*, xxi. 345.

² Charles André Merda, twenty-one years of age, was a gendarme in the squadron Hommes du 14 juillet. On the 25th Thermidor he was appointed sub-lieutenant in the 5th Chasseurs. He served in Napoleon's campaigns, became a colonel in 1806, and died of wounds received at Moscow in 1812. He altered his name to Méda. He left no issue. His nephew, Meng, in 1867 assumed the name of Méda.

³ Aulard, *Études sur la Révolution*.

been captured, unharmed ; Couthon had received bruises ; Augustin Robespierre, it is said, was so injured by his fall that he would have died next day. It must have been at first reported that he also was dead, for the Public Safety Committee ordered the removal and burial of his body.¹ Fleuriot-Lescot, Payan, and eleven members of the Commune—one of them Simon, the Dauphin's brutal ex-guardian—had been captured in the Hôtel de Ville or elsewhere. Robespierre was placed on a litter and carried by six firemen, "alike courageous and intrepid," says the Lombards section register, to the lobby of the Convention. President Collot, in announcing his arrival, remarked that the Convention would certainly not wish him to be brought in, and he was conveyed to the anteroom of the Public Safety Committee. There he was placed on a table, which is now at the National Archives. The legend, however, is that he lay on the table of the Committee-room, and that a week afterwards, when that body sat round it, there were still the stains of his blood. After an hour he opened his eyes, and with a small bag in his right hand—apparently the bag of the pistol which he had used—wiped the blood from his mouth. Attendants gave him blotting-paper for that purpose, and one of them helped him to pull up his stockings, on which he said, "*Je vous remercie, monsieur*"—a curious lapse into pre-revolutionary language. Other attendants, less humane, had reviled him. A basin of water was also placed beside him, into which he dipped the bits of blotting-paper to make them serve instead of a towel. According to Barras, he repeatedly asked for writing materials, but was refused. He suddenly raised himself, slipped off the table, and seated himself on a chair, when he asked for water and bits of linen. At 10 o'clock his wound was dressed by a surgeon, his mouth being held open with a key, that broken teeth might be extracted, and a handkerchief being tied round his head to keep the bandage in position. He remained thus in the chair till half-past ten, when he was carried in it to the Conciergerie. The

¹ A. F. ii. 49.

heavy rain had long ceased, but had been followed between 8 and 9 by a drizzle which, with few intermissions, lasted till the evening. The thermometer, only 60 at 3.30 A.M., rose in the afternoon to 77.¹

Couthon and Gobeau, or Gombaudo, Deputy Public Prosecutor, were also taken to the Conciergerie. Couthon had been carried at 5 o'clock, unconscious, to the Hôtel Dieu hospital. The wound on his forehead was dressed, and on recovering consciousness he explained that it was the result of a fall down the stairs on which he was sitting. He stated, in answer to questions, that he had been taken against his will from prison to the Hôtel de Ville, that he knew nothing of what passed there, and that though accused of being a conspirator, those who could read his heart would find this to be untrue.

The Convention adjourned at 7 A.M., and reassembled at 10. What was to be done with the prisoners? As outlaws, they could be executed without trial, but they should be identified by members of the Commune. Now the Commune was itself outlawed. The Convention solved the difficulty by enacting that identification by ordinary citizens should suffice. Accordingly, Robespierre and twenty-one of his associates were consigned to the guillotine, which was to be erected in the place de la Concorde, but this apparently took time, for the three carts did not start till 4 o'clock. Robespierre, stretched out on one of these, was the object along the route of insults and maledictions. "Fashionable ladies on the footways and at the windows," says Barras, "waved their handkerchiefs, but the populace were quiet." The Duplay family were under arrest, so that if the cart stopped before their house to allow of cruel exultation at their expense, they were not present to undergo the ordeal. Couthon was first executed; he had to be carried up the steps and placed on

¹ The 11th was 8 degrees hotter, and the 12th (30th July) was one of the hottest days of the year, viz. 91, but on the 9th July it had been 98. The 23rd, 24th, and 25th July were comparatively cool, viz. 72, 74, and 73 deg., but the rest of July had been sultry (*Abbréviateur Universel*, daily temperature).

the block. Then came the turn of St. Just and Augustin Robespierre. Seventeen municipal officers followed. Then came Robespierre, and, as the executioner roughly pulled off the handkerchief and bandages, he uttered a cry of pain. Fleuriot-Lescot was the last to be executed, but Fouquier had intended the triumvirs to come last. It was then 7 o'clock, or nearly sunset. "This man," says Durand de Maillane, speaking of Robespierre, "this man who had occasioned so much anguish to others, suffered in these twenty-four hours all that a mortal can suffer of what is most painful and poignant." Hunger must have been, too, among his pangs, for he manifestly could take no nourishment after his wound. He had, therefore, tasted no food for at least seventeen, probably twenty-two, hours.

Next day sixty-eight, and, on the 12th Thermidor, eleven members of the Commune, with three other satellites of Robespierre, shared his fate, but these 104 victims can inspire little pity when we consider that their fall put an end to the daily butcheries of the Revolutionary Tribunal.¹

The arrests of those municipal councillors who were not captured at the Hôtel de Ville are explained by the minutes of the Halle-au-Blé Committee, which, seeing that the Convention was in rebellion against the national authority, had torn up its summons to send delegates. We read under the 10th Thermidor:—

At three in the morning were arrested by a patrol of our section, Londel [painter], Geromme [Jerome, carver], and Paris [ex-Professor of Belles-lettres], all three members of the Commune of Paris. We sent them to the General Security and Public Safety Committees, as also a minute of their interrogatories by the commandant of the armed force, at five o'clock.

All three were guillotined on the 11th. Simon, though

¹ Executions were also daily going on at Orange. On the 10th Thermidor there were three victims; on the 12th, eleven; on the 13th, three; on the 14th, two; on the 15th, three; on the 16th, two; on the 17th, five. The order of the Convention on the 11th to suspend proceedings did not arrive till the 18th, when twenty-one persons were about to be tried; 200 trials were in preparation. In forty-six days 332 persons had perished.

he had left the Hôtel de Ville, was arrested by the Théâtre Français Committee, which, surprised to hear that he was at liberty, found him at a hairdresser's. He might have saved himself the trouble of this last toilette.

All these bodies were interred in the field or garden adjoining Parc Monceau. Barras is guilty of impudent falsehood when he alleges that Robespierre was buried by his orders in the same grave as Louis XVI. in the Madeleine Cemetery, and that the supposed remains of the king, removed in 1816 to St. Denis, were probably those of Robespierre.

Charlotte Robespierre, on learning her brother's fall, so far from rushing to the Conciergerie to see him, fainting in the street on being refused admission, and finding herself on her recovery in prison—a fable which she had herself perhaps got to believe—concealed herself under her mother's name of Carrant or Careau, but was arrested on the 13th Thermidor, and taken to the Postes section. There she repudiated her brothers, even alleging that they intended to kill her, but was nevertheless imprisoned for nine months. She was released on the 13th April 1795, having satisfied the General Security Committee that she had been persecuted by her brothers and forced to quit them. The committee certified that her civic principles entitled her to the confidence of good citizens and the protection of the authorities.¹ Napoleon, in 1803, following the example of the Thermidorians, granted her a pension of 3600 francs, in consideration, doubtless, of his intimacy with Augustin and of her acquaintance with Josephine. The Restoration reduced the pension to 1800 francs, but the duchesse d'Angoulême is said to have supplemented it.² "It was not her silence," remarks M. Lenotre, "which was thus purchased, but her renunciation." Yet in her will, dated 1828, she protested her attachment to her brother. She died in 1834, having passed many years in obscurity under the name of Carrant. She refused to receive extreme unction.

¹ A.F. ii. 278.

² *Intermédiaire*, March 24, 1895.

Couthon's wife and sister were arrested on the 10th Thermidor, and sent to the English convent.¹

Let us turn to the fate of the Duplays. Father, mother, son, and daughter Sophie were arrested at 9 P.M. on the 9th, and were taken first to the Tuileries section, then to the guardhouse, and lastly to St. Pélagie. There two days afterwards the mother committed suicide. Whether she was driven to this by the taunts of her fellow-prisoners is uncertain. On the 13th the nephew, Simon, was sent to La Force, and Madame Lebas, the married daughter, to Petite Force. She had given birth five weeks before to a son, named Philip after his father. Victoria was arrested at Lille on the 14th, and Eleanor in Paris on the 19th. On the 29th August Sophia and Victoria were transferred to the Conciergerie with orders that they should be tried, but happily the reaction did not go the length of executing young women who had simply made a mistake in hero-worship. On the 18th September, however, Dubois Crancé spoke of Marie Antoinette and "Cornélie Copeau" (Eleanor Duplay) as alike conspirators,² and Eleanor was still in prison in April 1795. On the 16th November Madame Lebas petitioned that her father might be allowed to communicate with his family. He was then at Duplessis, as also his son, while the four daughters were in separate prisons. She had exhausted the purses of her friends in succouring father and sisters, and was then without resources even for herself and her infant. This appeal seems to have led on the 23rd December to Duplay and his son and nephew³ being interrogated. All were asked whether Robespierre had not English visitors. The son replied that he knew only of Arthur, whose father was English. Robespierre, he said, during his absence from the Public Safety

¹ A.D. ii.* 255.

² *Moniteur*, xxii. 5.

³ Simon Duplay, the nephew, must have been liberated with the rest of the family, for in the spring of 1796, under the name of Sébastien Lalande, he published the *Éclaireur du Peuple*, in which he advocated the Constitution of 1793, and extolled Robespierre and Babeuf. His training under Robespierre seems to have given him the knack of declamation and vituperation. More fortunate than his uncle and cousin, he escaped the rigours of the Directory.

Committee went early to bed. St. Just was frequently closeted with him, but seldom dined with him. The nephew stated that Barère dined with Robespierre ten or fifteen days before his fall.

The four daughters—Eleanor signing as Marianne, which was probably her second name—jointly petitioned for their father's release, urging that though Robespierre lodged with him, he had never meddled in politics.¹ The petition was unavailing, but on the 4th February 1795 the General Security Committee ordered the restitution of Madame Lebas' watch, rings, and earrings.² Duplay, with other jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal, was put on trial, but on the 26th February 1795 was acquitted. He was perhaps screened by Collot, who, when committing atrocities at Lyons in 1793, had written effusive letters to him. He had been transferred from St. Pélagie first to the collège Duplessis, and then to the Luxembourg. He was rearrested, but on the 14th May was liberated. Once more apprehended, together with his son, on the 16th May 1796, as accomplices of Babeuf, both were acquitted, though he had evidently sympathised, if not conspired, with that agitator. He had probably given up business, or business had given him up, before his appointment as a juror, for which he received 18 francs a day. Political commotions might have been expected to ruin him, but in May 1796 he bought the premises in the rue St. Honoré for 32,888 francs (in paper currency). Yet on his trial in 1797 he is described as of No. 59 rue St. Honoré, so that he must have removed. In 1801 his son-in-law Auzat, as owner of half the property, sold the shop, which occupied the street frontage, to the tenant, Rouilly, a jeweller. In 1810 Rouilly bought the entire premises, and in the following year, on the rues Richepanse and Duphot being made, he demolished the penthouse and the wing which Duplay had occupied, and erected the present building. In 1816 he rebuilt the front. Whether the rooms assigned to Robespierre were demolished or another story simply

¹ W. 79.

² A.F. ii.* 278.

added is a question which was warmly discussed by Hamel and M. Sardou in 1895. The belief of Madame Lebas was that all had disappeared, and this has been confirmed by the discovery by M. Coyecque, in the Seine archives, of a plan of the premises, dated 1783.¹ Duplay died in 1820, his daughter Eleanor in 1832, his son in 1847. The son was manager of hospitals, and had latterly supported his father. Madame Lebas survived till 1859; a Robespierrist to the last, she had imbued her son, who died in the following year, with the same opinions. Arrested in 1813 for evading the conscription and complicity in the Tours conspiracy, he became tutor to the future Napoleon III., and was latterly an eminent antiquary.

The fall of Robespierre was a great relief to Paris, especially to the prisoners, who, hearing the tocsin and the drums, had passed the night in terrible suspense. There were, however, in Paris, both at the time and afterwards, occasional tokens of regret. On the 11th Thermidor, three men in the place Royale tried to stop the singing by a hawker of verses against Robespierre, but the mob seized them and took them to the police station. Again on the 13th, at the Café Foy, a man snatched from a hawker a pamphlet against Robespierre and tore it up. On the 15th, Montelard, an engraver of assignats, tried to blow out his brains, missed, but then cut his throat; his last words on being taken to the hospital were—"Liberty is lost, I die for it." On the 7th March 1795 women knitting in the Tuileries gardens lamented the rule of their *bon ami*. In November 1795 Antoine Trial, an actor, poisoned himself. Intimate with Robespierre, he was hissed off the stage on his first appearance after Thermidor, and a couple refused to be married by him, though that municipal function devolved on him. We hear of a prisoner who on the 28th July 1795, when the anniversary of Robespierre's fall was being officially celebrated in Paris, darkened his cell and suspended his usual singing; and Souberbielle, a doctor, one of the jurors who condemned

¹ *Révolution Française*, April 1899.

Danton, and who lived till 1848, retained to the last his admiration for Robespierre, though the latter on the 10th June 1794 had excluded him from the jury, probably because he had hesitated to condemn Danton. Babeuf, of course, lamented him as a martyr to liberty. At the Babeuf trial in 1796, Fossard, one of the prisoners, admitted saying that the people were happier under Robespierre, for they could then get bread, and assignats were worth something. If this opinion, he said, was a crime, he was ready to suffer for it. The scarcity of 1795 had also occasioned regrets for Robespierre, and at Nancy on the 19th February there were cries that his rule was the golden age of the Republic.¹ In Paris, moreover, on the 2nd April 1798 Taschereau was arrested for a pamphlet extolling Robespierre.

These isolated lamentations for Robespierre are natural enough. What is at first sight more surprising is that his fall was deplored by foreign powers. The explanation, however, is that they counted on peace under his complete dictatorship. They knew that, unlike the Girondins, he had always opposed offensive and propagandist wars. Danton in this agreed with him. Some think that Robespierre disliked war because he was conscious of his hopeless ignorance in military matters, and there is a story of his being found poring over Carnot's maps and confessing that he could not master them; but we need not attribute his dislike of war merely to jealousy of those whose comprehension of it gave them a superiority over him. War even for ideas was repugnant to his Rousseau philosophy, and in a speech at the Jacobin club he wisely said :—

The most extravagant idea which can spring up in the heart of a politician is the belief that for a people to enter, armed, a foreign nation is the way to make the latter adopt its laws and constitution. Nobody likes armed missionaries, and the first counsel given by nature and prudence is to repel them as enemies.

¹ *Moniteur*, xxiii. 575.

Foreign powers were therefore warranted in deploring him, and it was not altogether without reason that Clansel stated in the Convention on the 3rd October 1794 that the Pope and the allied monarchs were in despair at his fall, and that Pitt had declared that civil war must now be seriously fomented in France. The English Government, moreover, or at any rate Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, had been misled by the reports of a Paris spy, procured and more or less vouched for by Drake, its minister at Genoa, reports full of grotesque fables. Robespierre was actually represented as secretly taking the poor little Dauphin from the Temple to Meudon.¹ Even the exiled Pretender, the future Louis XVIII., if we are to believe Courtois,² had also counted on Robespierre, addressing to him a score of letters eulogising his efforts to restore order. There is no reason, however, for thinking that Robespierre, though very amenable to flattery, sent any replies.

As for the retrospective regrets of the Thermidorians, they count for little. These men merely lamented Robespierre because they had seen that his fall cleared the way for Bonaparte, whose sway reduced them to insignificance. Vadier, exiled as a regicide in 1816, used to say with tears, "We murdered Robespierre, and the Republic with him." Barère, who on the 21st January 1795 had proposed that the 10th Thermidor should be an annual festival, stated a few years before his death that Robespierre's overthrow was the only act which he regretted.³ But his posthumous Memoirs show no sign of such remorse, any more than those of Barras, who likewise told Alexandre Dumas that he regretted Thermidor.

Robespierre's popularity was largely due to his professions of incorruptibility, and he certainly despised wealth, or he might have speculated in the purchase of confiscated property, for who would latterly have ventured to bid

¹ *Dropmore Papers, Hist. MSS. Commission*, 1896.

² Proudhon's notes in *Cosmopolis*, October 1896.

³ Marquis de Nadaillac, *Correspondant*, July 10, 1896.

against him? His poverty, however, has been exaggerated. On the 11th Thermidor, the Champs Élysées section was informed that he had had lodgings at 5 rue de l'Union, and seals were placed on them. This, however, might have been Duplay's unlet house in the rue d'Angoulême (now rue La Boétie). But on the 12th the General Safety Committee ordered seals to be placed on the *maison de campagne* "owned by the wretch Robespierre" at Meudon.¹ According to a denunciation made after his death he frequently went to Issy, to a suburban house formerly belonging to the princesse de Chimay.² Couthon also had a house just outside Paris, at Passy. St. Just, as we have seen, was in debt, and there is really no evidence that the triumvirs enriched themselves. Had there been the slenderest foundation for such a charge, it would certainly have been seized upon.

Robespierre's papers were seized, and were partially published by Courtois, who appropriated some of those not inserted in his report, and presented several to Cortiez (de l'Oise). These are now among the Filon autographs. On the 17th February 1795 there were complaints in the Convention of Courtois's omissions, and the publication of the entire papers was advocated, but it was resolved that letters of deputies should alone be printed in the supplementary report, as many of Robespierre's correspondents had been excusably misled. Among the papers is a list of "patriots having more or less ability," one hundred and thirteen in number. One is a horse-dealer, there are three surgeons, and there are two Simons, one doubtless the infamous tormentor of the Dauphin. Then there are Dumas and Coffinhal, the sanguinary judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Robespierre describes as a "pure patriot, fit for a public post," Gattean, who in a letter from Strasburg, addressed to Daubigny, but forwarded to and preserved by Robespierre, had said: "St. Guillotine is in the most brilliant activity, and the beneficent Terror produces here in a miraculous manner what could not be expected

¹ A.D. ii. 255.

² F. 7, 4432.

for at least a century from reason and philosophy. *Quel maître-bongre que ce garçon-là* (St. Just)." In some cases Robespierre mentions the persons who had recommended the "patriots." Such of these "patriots" as are known are known only to their disadvantage, and it may not uncharitably be concluded that the remainder were men of the same stamp. This list of sycophants throws an unpleasant light on Robespierre's character. So too with the reports of his spies, and his careful preservation not only of these, but of fawning and threatening letters, alike nourishment for his pride. A young woman with a competency at Nantes wrote, without ever having seen him, to offer him marriage. Grievances, denunciations, even an American offer to supply wheat, were addressed to him. There are undated notes, apparently memoranda for speeches, in which he urges the proscription of anti-revolutionary writers, the diffusion of "good" publications, the punishment of conspirators, especially of deputies, and the paying and arming of sansculottes. One note "suspend labours until the country is saved, change the *local*," seems to corroborate the belief that he wished to prorogue the Convention and remove it from Paris. There are likewise sketches of five deputies whom he styles "leaders of the coalition," and whom he depicts as wretches devoid of morality and patriotism. There is also a speech, never delivered, denouncing the two extremes, moderates and ultras.

But by far the most interesting of Robespierre's documents is a notebook in which for the last three months of 1793 he jotted down his ideas and intentions. It is about five inches by three inches in size, and consists of sheets of very ordinary yellowish paper, with a marble-paper cover, such as was then frequently used for covering pamphlets. The entries are mostly on the right-hand page, but an entry is sometimes continued overleaf, and occasionally the left-hand page seems to be used for a hasty scrawl, to be repeated more legibly on the next page. The right-hand pages are numbered consecutively at the corner, from

1 to 17. A pencil is here and there used, but the entries are, with few exceptions, in ink, now very pale. Many entries have a line drawn through or across them, as if to indicate that their purpose had been fulfilled. The calligraphy is very unlike the small, neat, pedantic handwriting found in Robespierre's signatures to public documents. He evidently, like most people, had two hands—one studiously legible, the other for his private use, a hasty scrawl. Hence some of these entries cannot be deciphered without difficulty. In the left-hand corner of p. 1 we read “No. 16,” which may mean that he had had fifteen previous books, but I am not sure that it is in his handwriting. Strange to say, Courtois published only five short passages, about eighty words in all, from this book, and he suppressed the indications of date, so as to convey the impression that Robespierre was using it just before his fall, whereas he must have for six months discontinued using notebooks, and, as the other documents would imply, employed only loose sheets of paper. The notebook, together with some of Robespierre's other papers, has for many years been on view under a glass case at the Archives Museum, standing open to show the last entry; but that museum, though containing historical documents which should be as interesting to Frenchmen as Magna Charta at the British Museum is to Englishmen (some of them, too, much more ancient), attracts scarcely any visitors. What is more surprising is that until 1883 no French writer on the Revolution had had the idea of examining the notebook and supplementing Courtois's meagre quotations. In that year M. Welschinger printed the entire contents in a review, and he reprinted this in 1890, but in a collection of essays entitled *Le Roman de Dumouriez*, and the sub-titles escaped observation.¹ It is singular that M. Welschinger should not have placed first and as the main title what was certainly the most

¹ In giving an account of the book in the *Athenæum*, October 31, 1896, I was consequently ignorant of M. Welschinger's publication. The *Revue Critique* gave me a clue to it.

interesting chapter in his book. While commenting, too, on the suspicion and distrust which pervade the notebook, he overlooks the fact that the entries end on the 27th December 1793.

The subjoined extracts, forming about one-fourth of the contents, will give an idea of the entries. For the sake of convenience I follow Robespierre's pagination, treating an entry on the left-hand page as a continuation of that on the previous right-hand page :—

PAGE 1.

1. Nomination of the members of the Revolutionary Tribunal.
2. Formation of committees, and firstly of the Contracts Committee.
3. Complete the despatch of commissaries to Brest, Cherbourg, and the ports in general.
4. Rescind the decree which repeals the law on the property of foreigners.
5. The decree which prescribes that *émigrés* shall be tried by all the criminal tribunals.
6. Order the ministers to give a list of their clerks and attendants.

Hold the revolutionary army ready, and recall the detachments of it to Paris, in order to frustrate the conspiracy.

Indefinite postponement of the new calendar.

This is cancelled, but it gives a clue to the date, for the Jacobin calendar, postponed on the 20th September 1793, was adopted on the 5th October, so that this entry must have been a little earlier.

PAGE 3.

The tax on tobacco destroys our commercial relations with America.

PAGE 4.

Organisation of the committee [evidently of Public Safety]. 1. Infamous violation of the committee's secrets, either by the clerks or by other persons. 2. Change your clerks, expel everywhere the traitor who sits in your midst. 3. Punish the clerk who handed you a letter to sign, the object of which was to induce the possessors of the documents of conspiracy respecting the *ancien régime* to burn

them. 5. Revocation of the decree which establishes revolutionary tribunals everywhere.

Propose [*demander*] that Thomas Payne be put on trial, in the interests of America as much as of France.¹

PAGE 6.

Departure of Carnot for the army [cancelled]. Force by terror the towns lately in rebellion to reveal the arms which they have hidden.

PAGE 7.

Departure of Carnot for Dunkirk. Conspirators. Organisation of the tribunal. Complete the revolutionary army and purge it. Organise the Revolutionary Tribunal. Watch the clubs. Imprison and punish the hypocritical counter-revolutionists. Repress the journalist impostors. Diffuse good writings.

PAGE 8.

Essential points of government. 1. Subsistence and victualling. 2. War. 3. Public spirit and conspiracy. 4. Diplomacy. Every day it is necessary to ask in what condition are these four things. Public spirit and conspiracies. Diffuse good writings; the repression of libels; the organisation of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and all the measures necessary to punish the conspirators.

PAGE 11.

Polishing is a method of concealing the defects of weapons. The patriotic workmen denounce this abuse.²

PAGE 12.

It is necessary to have all over the republic a small number of resolute commissaries furnished with good instructions, and

¹ Paine, not aware that this was written in October 1793, and that Robespierre must have changed his mind, or would not have allowed six months to elapse without bringing him to trial, naturally concluded that Robespierre to the last was bent on guillotining him.

² Montgaillard's pamphlet on France in May 1794 states that most of the muskets, made in improvised factories, churches, mansions, and squares, were unserviceable on account of haste and clumsiness.

especially with good principles, to bring all minds to unity and republicanism, the only way of soon terminating the Revolution to the benefit of the people. The commissaries will set themselves especially to discovering and inventorying the men worthy of serving the cause of liberty. We must have a circumstantial list of all the prisoners.

PAGE 13.

It is necessary to prosecute the deputies, leaders of the conspiracy [the proscribed Girondins], and strike them down at whatever cost. There must be a circumstantial list of all the prisoners.

Courtois quoted this, but not the continuation :—

It is necessary that all the individuals known should be promptly punished. Decree that all those who shelter conspirators shall be visited with the same punishment.

PAGE 14.

Arrest surgeon Le Febvre.

Robespierre at first wrote "Fourrier," but cancelled it.

PAGE 15.

Remind the public prosecutor about Perrochet.¹ Remind the public prosecutor about La Marlière [cancelled: La Marlière was interrogated 11th September, and tried and guillotined on 6 Frimaire]. Speak on the report of the Committee of General Security, ask for its being more complete. Save the honour of the Convention and of the Mountain. Distinguish the shade of difference between the leaders of the corruption and the weak and misled [cancelled].

PAGE 16.

17 Frimaire. A fresh attack on Dunkirk is announced. Toulon. Dugommier writes on the way in which he has conducted himself towards the English general [O'Hara]. Revolutionary Tribunal to be watched. Organisation to be reformed.

¹ Probably Perruchut, ex-mayor of St. Malo, guillotined June 20, 1794.

7 Nivôse. Unmask the twofold intrigue. Decide on Gérard. Report on the revolutionary tribunal. Public Prosecutor exposed [*à nu*]. Lorient affair.¹ Pantheon for the young hussar, Gasparin and Bayle. Rescind the decree in favour of the wives of conspirators.

Some of these ideas and even expressions are identical with passages in his notes previously mentioned, and written, judging by a reference to the festival of the Supreme Being, later than the 8th June 1794. Robespierre's views, therefore, had in the last six months undergone no change. The notebook reveals, moreover, his suspicious temper, and it shows how he watched the Revolutionary Tribunal and prompted the infamous Fouquier. These "reminders" to bring prisoners to trial are revolting, and should silence all attempts to exculpate Robespierre from active complicity in the daily butcheries. It is significant, moreover, that in the very last entry he demands increased vigour against the wives of prisoners. In all his papers, including, as has been seen, one written within a few weeks of his fall, there is not the slightest hint of a cessation of the daily executions. Yet he recalled the monster Carrier from Nantes, and he overthrew the Hébert faction, which was even more sanguinary than himself. He also saved the lives of the seventy-three imprisoned Girondin deputies, whom he must have intended ultimately to reinstate in the Convention. Assuredly the Thermidorians are entitled to no admiration. Most of them had Robespierre's faults without his virtues. Some were little less responsible than he for the judicial massacre,² and their intention in overthrowing him was simply to save their own heads, not to put an end to the Terror, a result

¹ Attempt to burn down the magazines.

² Billaud was at least on one occasion more inhuman than Robespierre, for when Madame Philippeaux solicited an audience of the Convention to plead for her husband's life, he proposed that she should be admitted and that a letter proving her husband's guilt should be read to her. Robespierre successfully objected to this revolting proposal.

quite unexpected by them. Nevertheless Robespierre reminds us of the lunatic in the balloon, bent on throwing over the ballast in order to reach the moon, whom the aeronaut, as the sole chance of deliverance, had to throw over. A caricature of the time, indeed, represents Robespierre as having guillotined all France, and as preparing to guillotine himself. Orell, a Swiss, wrote five lines, the concluding two being—

Il fallait sans tarder faire son épitaphe,
Ou bien celle du genre humain.¹

Carnot's description of Robespierre was "Bad heart, mediocre intellect." Condorcet, before becoming his victim, had said, "Not an idea in the head, not a sentiment in the heart." Barnave, in an unpublished notebook, writes in 1792 :—

He has the genius of anarchy. He would like a nation to exist without laws, acknowledging only the Declaration of Rights. Essentially a tribune, he likes power obtained solely from the effervescence of the people, independent of laws. His vanity is extreme and intolerant. His talents all consist in declamation, and are poor even in that kind. But if history is just it will allow him to have been a primitive, homogeneous, and inflexible character. I believe him to be above all sordid considerations.²

M. Aulard, the best living authority on the Revolution, commenting on Robespierre's prosecution of Danton, says—"I refuse to personify the French Revolution in this sanctimonious calumniator, this mystical assassin." Yet Michelet says of his death, "This great man was no more ;" Louis Blane remarks, "He rose from the dignity of apostle to that of martyr ;" and Hamel describes him as "One of the best men who have figured on the earth."

¹ *Moniteur*, xxii. 564.

² W. 15.

CHAPTER XII

THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS

Madame Roland—Théroigne de Méricourt—Reine Audu—Regicides—
Girondins—Desmoulins—Carnot—Cavaignac—David—Santerre
—Recantations—Banishments—No Remorse—Sergent—Sanson
—Laflotte—Drouet: Epilogue of the Flight to Varennes—
Descendants.

IT is natural to ask what became of the principal revolutionists, especially of the regicides. How many were assassinated or guillotined? How many suffered banishment or poverty? How many cringed to or served Napoleon, whose reign was the negation of all liberty? How many, surviving till the Restoration, ended by being royalists? Were any visited with remorse?

Let us attempt to answer these questions, not with any purpose of demonstrating poetic justice, for we shall see that some of the most repulsive of the revolutionists underwent no retribution, but simply to relate facts. And before dealing with the regicides proper let us glance at the fate of the women who applauded at least the early stages of the Revolution. Madame Roland in 1790 desired the assassination of the King and Queen by some new Decius, and she felt no spark of commiseration for Louis when she saw him pass on his way to trial. When, as a girl, she chafed under the humiliation of being relegated one night at Versailles to the attics, she little foresaw that levelling down, so welcome when it visited her superiors, might be carried still further. The envious dislike inspired in her by the Versailles Court was the same sentiment which led her daughter's governess to appear at her trial to reveal her table-talk. In lieu of exclaiming on her way to the scaffold, "Oh liberty, how hast thou been duped!" she might have said, "How have

"I been duped!" But enough has been said of her in a former chapter.

One cannot help pitying that Amazon of the Revolution, Théroigne de Méricourt; yet she was responsible for the death of Suleau, even if she did not actually kill him. That reactionary satirist had habitually ridiculed and insulted her. When, therefore, he fell into her hands on the day of the capture of the Tuileries, she showed him no mercy. He had been married but two months to the daughter of Peter Adolphus Hall, a Swedish painter, the Vandyke of miniaturists, long settled in Paris. Théroigne in her turn received no mercy, when, on the 15th May 1793, Jacobin viragoes, resenting her sympathy with the Girondins, publicly flogged her and tried to duck her in the Tuileries pond. Insanity befell her, though not immediately nor on account of this indignity. Straitened circumstances had forced her to remove from the rue de Tournon and occupy a fourth-floor room in the rue St. Honoré. On the 9th August 1793 she complained to the police of having been struck by the portress of the house where she lodged. Two days later women complained of having been named by her in a placard as among her assailants. In May 1794, in a revolutionary opera by Bouquier, she figured—or rather Mlle. Maillard figured for her—as a heroine; but this was her last triumph, if triumph it can be called. She annoyed Couthon and St. Just by incoherent letters, and on the 27th June 1794 the General Security Committee ordered her arrest. The commissaries of Bibliothèque section went for that purpose and seized her papers, but found her out of her mind. She was placed in a private asylum, whence on the 19th July she wrote to Couthon, pressing him to call on her or allow her under escort to call on him. She complained that though anxious to write for the public good, she was deprived of paper and candles. She desired to return to her lodgings until quarters safe from intrigues could be found for her. She concluded by begging for a loan of 200 francs. She also wrote to St. Just on the 26th July, imploring release and a loan of 200

francs. She was deprived, she said, of light and writing paper, though anxious to write. Her brother Joseph, a chemist, on the 30th July, applied for the custody of her as a lunatic, and he had previously applied for a family council to deprive her of the management of her affairs, inasmuch as she was not only insane but dangerous. Afflicted with the mania of persecution, she survived for many years as a raving lunatic, but latterly calmer, till 1817.

Théroigne was not the only female agitator whom expiation befell. Olympe de Gouges, turning moderate like her, was arrested on the 22nd June 1793 and guillotined in November. We have seen what farewell letter she wrote to her unfeeling son.

Other female agitators saved their heads, but died in obscurity and indigence. Louise Reine Audu, who figured both in the march to Versailles and in the capture of the Tuileries, when she was shot in the thigh, desired in December 1792, being in poverty, to enter the gendarmerie, but this strange request was refused. She underwent imprisonment at St. Pélagie, and ended her days in a hospital. Rose Lacombe, the provincial actress who started a female club,¹ and presented memorials to the municipality, offered, in July 1792, to join the army, but Vienot, the president of the Assembly, told her she was fitter to fascinate foreign tyrants than to combat them. According to Choudieu she figured as the Goddess of Liberty in festivals in 1793. She is last heard of as selling wine, sugar, and candles at the gates of prisons.²

Let us now turn to the members of the Convention. Three hundred and eighty-seven members voted for the death of Louis XVI., while 334 voted for imprisonment, banishment, or death subject to certain conditions.³ Three

¹ Citoyenne Cornélie, one of its members, advocated in November 1793 the election by her sex of a female Convention, to possess a veto over the decisions of the male Convention, also the trial of female prisoners by female juries, and the nurture in a vast state institution of all infants from their birth.

² *Revue Historique*, May 1894.

³ Only eight abstained from pronouncing him guilty of conspiring with the foreigner.

hundred and ten voted for a respite pending an appeal to the people, and 380 against it. Twelve of the majority reached or exceeded the age of ninety, while forty-eight became octogenarians. Many on the other hand had violent deaths. Lepelletier St. Fargeau was stabbed in a Palais Royal café the day before the execution of the King, for which he had voted. Marat did not long survive him. He is one of the most repulsive figures in the Revolution; yet according to Barras, though clamouring for 10,000 heads, he was for saving individuals. Barras saw him rescue a supposed aristocrat from being hung on a lamp-post by saying, "I know him; this is the way to treat him," whereupon he kicked him and told him to be off. In like manner he rescued Théroigne de Méricourt from the viragoes, by telling them that they should despise her and let the law punish her, upon which he led her safely into the Convention.

The Girondins, whom Charlotte Corday had thought to save by stabbing Marat, perished in quick succession. We cannot feel much sympathy for Pétion, the mayor of Paris wittily nicknamed "Rainbow" by Madame de Staël, because he always appeared at the end of storms, too late to stop the mischief. He was odiously rude to the royal captives on escorting them back to Paris from Varennes, yet grotesquely fancied that princess Elisabeth was enamoured of him. It is true that he voted for a plebiscite on the fate of Louis XVI. He shot himself to avoid capture.

Brissot, though an opponent of rigorous measures against *émigrés* and priests, was largely responsible for the arrest of ex-ministers Delessart and Montmorin, indirectly therefore for their massacre at Versailles. He voted, indeed, for a plebiscite on the fate of Louis XVI., but he lacked the courage to vote against his death. Desmoulins, who by his heedless sarcasms contributed to Brissot's death, repented of this too late, but when Barnave, on being tried, saw Desmoulins in court and said, "Camille, we used to be friends; shake hands with me," Desmoulins, though

agreeing to do this, had the cowardice to add that he regarded him as guilty. Considering, however, that Desmoulins perished for advocating clemency, much may be forgiven him. We feel less compassion for his associate, Danton, for he was accessory at least after the fact to the September massacres, he was distinctly accessory to the execution of the Girondins, and he helped to create that Revolutionary Tribunal before which he was destined in his turn to appear. He, too, fell in attempting to curb the passions which he had helped to let loose. "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Nor can we pity Fabre d'Églantine, for he had the blood of Rabaut St. Étienne on his head. Rabaut, a Protestant ex-pastor, had been concealed by Payzac and his wife, staunch Catholics to whom he had rendered a service; but the carpenter called in to construct his hiding-place mentioned the fact to Fabre, who immediately apprised the Public Safety Committee. The host and hostess were guillotined the day after their guest.

It is needless to speak at length of Orléans-Égalité, Jeanbon St. André, Féraud, Philippeaux, Lasource, Barbaroux, Buzot, Romme, Ducos, Lebon, and Carrier. Altogether thirty-three regicides were guillotined, and twenty-three were shot, committed suicide, or perished of privations.¹ We must not, however, imagine that the most sanguinary Terrorists were of unmitigated ferocity. Joseph Lebon, who was so merciless in French Flanders, wrote affectionate letters to his wife while in prison. She, then herself in a different prison, gave birth to a son Émile, who became a judge at Chalon-sur-Saône, and in 1861, with excusable partiality, published an extenuation of his father's career. Affection, however, for his family cannot blind us to Lebon's crimes.

Thus far we have spoken only of men who perished before or shortly after Robespierre, but some of those who had overthrown him underwent imprisonment or exile. I have already spoken of Billaud-Varenne. Collot

¹ Bourloton.

d'Herbois, guilty of great atrocities at Lyons, which he threatened to raze to the ground, was also sent to Cayenne, where he cohabited with a negress. He died in 1796, bequeathing his effects to Billaud.

Carnot seems to have persuaded himself, and till recently succeeded in persuading posterity, that he was not responsible for the butcheries of the Revolutionary Tribunal, inasmuch as his signature to anything outside his military province was a pure formality. It has been proved, however, by M. Aulard¹ that he was actually the originator of some of the most atrocious decrees of the Public Safety Committee. He signed also the decrees against the Dantonists and against Madame Desmoulins. His military services have been much exaggerated. Napoleon, who, though he had reasons for disliking him, for he had been one of the 9000 dissentients (out of three and a quarter million voters) from the life-consulate, declared that he had no practical knowledge of war, and that his theories of fortification were fallacious. Yet Arago, in a eulogium before the Academy of Sciences in 1837, held him up as a born strategist. Taken by his mother at ten years of age to a theatre at Dijon, the play contained military evolutions, and the boy interrupted the actors, telling them the guns were not properly posted. The audience roared with laughter, while the mother was in consternation. Needless to say, this is pure legend; Arago told it in perfect good faith, but did not name his authority. What was well done at the War Office under Carnot was really done by his subordinates.² He is not therefore entitled to much pity when we find him proscribed and obliged to conceal himself. His retirement from political life under the Empire would command more respect did we not see him in 1810, after losing 60,000 francs in a colonial mercantile speculation, accept 10,000 francs a year, with arrears, as an ex-minister, together with an inspectorship of fortresses. Set to write

¹ *Revue Bleue*, September 7, 1892.

² *Revue des Questions Historiques*, January and October 1893.

a pamphlet on fortifications, he spoke in it of Napoleon as "my sovereign." Did he forget that on the 12th July 1796, as president of the Directory, he forbade officials to use *monsieur* instead of *citoyen*. "Let those who choose to *monseigneuriser* return to their cliques, which allow such language to these *messieurs*, and let them renounce employment by the republic."¹ In 1815 he accepted from Napoleon the title of count, and his son Hippolyte, it is said, liked in his letters to be "counted." Banished as a regicide in 1816, he accepted a Russian honorary grade of general, he offered to give advice on the creation of a riding-school at Berlin—he, the "organiser of victory" against Prussia—and he was also implicated in a conspiracy for overturning Louis XVIII. and proclaiming the Prince of Orange (afterwards William II.) king of France.² Banishment had thus eclipsed his patriotism. He was honoured above his deserts by his remains being brought over from Magdeburg in 1889 and interred in the Paris Pantheon. His son and grandson, who seemed to borrow their lustre from him, were in reality far his superiors morally, if not intellectually, and one would like to know something of his wife, from whom, rather than from him, their sterling qualities must have been derived.

Carnot was not the only ex-Terrorist who accepted office under Napoleon. John Baptist Cavaignac, father of the general who was at the head of the Republic of 1848, in 1793-94, on a provincial mission with Pinet, ordered wholesale arrests, indited sanguinary despatches, and created tribunals which sent victims to the guillotine. "Every day," wrote the two envoys, "sees some of their [aristocrats'] heads roll on the scaffold." In 1795 the Convention was besieged with complaints of their atrocities. Yet in 1797 he married Marie Juliette de Corancez without any

¹ *Moniteur*, 4 Thermidor, an 4.

² Vaulabelle, *Revue de Paris*, February 1896. In 1814, in command of Antwerp when Napoleon fell, he accepted the white flag, and resumed his cross of St. Louis. The Prince of Orange in 1819 sent an aide-de-camp to Paris to negotiate with the anti-Bourbonists, but the King of Holland, apprised of this audacious scheme, recalled his son from Brussels to the Hague.

apparent objection being taken to his sanguinary antecedents. In March 1799 he became lottery manager under the Directory, retained that post under the Consulate, held offices under Joseph Bonaparte and Murat in Naples, and was made a baron. He died in exile in Belgium in 1829, having re-embraced Catholicism. Lequinio, "citizen of the globe" as he signed in 1792 every copy of his pantheistic book *les Préjugés Détruits*, besought a place from Bonaparte, and was at first a forest inspector, but ultimately a kind of consul at Newport, Rhode Island, where he died in 1813. One of the ablest Jacobin writers, who called forth a reply from Hannah More—she gave the profits, £240, to the refugee priests in England—Lequinio must have unpleasantly recollected how he had described 1792 as "the year in which kings and priests are to be obliterated from the earth."

What shall we say of Louis David, the painter, who, on the eve of Robespierre's fall, pledged himself to "drink the hemlock" with him, but in two days pitifully repudiated him? This fanatical Jacobin became Napoleon's court painter, one of his barons to boot, and would doubtless have turned his coat once more in favour of the Bourbons but that he was banished as a regicide. He wore the livery of a tyrant compared with whom Louis XVI. was the mildest of rulers,¹ shared in that tyrant's fall, and died in exile in Belgium in 1825. Even his pictures had been relegated to an attic at the Louvre.

Santerre, the brewer whom Dr. Johnson, in company with Thrale, visited in 1775, probably acted under orders when he directed the drummers to silence Louis XVI.'s last words. This pompous busybody and incompetent general² was imprisoned during the Terror. Robespierre's fall released him, but fresh troubles awaited him. He was

¹ Bourlonton states that out of 207 surviving regicides 202 accepted service under Napoleon, who made one of them a duke, one a prince, ten counts, and fifteen barons. These ex-levellers became sycophants and would-be aristocrats.

² In April 1793 he obtained a rebate of 40,603 francs duty, on proof that the beer represented by it had been gratuitously supplied to national guards and the populace.

re-arrested in 1796, and in 1798 his wife, a staunch royalist, divorced him. He lost his money, recovered it by land speculations, and lost it again, this time irretrievably, having only a small military pension left. Ultimately he lost his reason, and imagined that the English had bought of the Vendéans an iron cage in which they meant to exhibit him. The Vendéans, he believed, had made the cage, intending to burn him alive in it. He was anxious to be appointed governor of a fortress, that he might be safe from both these enemies. In this state he remained till his death in 1809. General Turreau, who had committed atrocities in Vendée, served both Napoleon and Louis XVIII., and Francastel, a member of the Convention, likewise guilty of cruelties there, became gardener to Napoleon's mother.

Several of the "Conventionals" accepted the Restoration. Bishop Grégoire, who had said, in August 1792, "the history of kings is the martyrology of peoples," attended in 1814 Louis XVIII.'s *Te Deum* at Notre Dame. Rabaut-Pommier, brother of Rabaut St. Étienne, held a Protestant thanksgiving service, but was nevertheless banished. He was, however, allowed to return to France in 1818, on proof that his vote was not reckoned among those condemning Louis XVI. Prieur (Côte d'Or), one of Napoleon's counts, applied to the monarchy for employment. Merlin (Thionville) also gave it his formal adhesion and offered his services. Sebastien Mercier, who had ridiculed the comte d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.), went with the Institute to compliment him on his arrival in Paris. Lindet, however, declined to recognise either the Empire or the Restoration, and resumed his practice at the bar, dying in 1825.

The regicides had been left undisturbed in 1814, but in 1816 such of them as had served Napoleon on his return from Elba were banished. Most of them retired to Belgium or Holland. Even Cambacérès, though not liable to banishment, followed their example, and died in Belgium in 1824. The exiles were anything but a happy

family. With rare exceptions impenitent, they had bickerings, and some were even a prey to fear of assassination. Sieyès, ex-priest and Napoleonic count, became imbecile, fancied that Robespierre was threatening his life, and would give directions, "If M. de Robespierre inquires for me say I am out." Readmitted into France in 1830, he lived till 1836, and prescribed himself a civil funeral. Mallarmé died, an octogenarian in second childhood, at Mechlin in 1835. But Debry, the advocate in 1792 of tyrannicide, banished although he had donned a white cockade in 1814, occupied himself in his Belgian exile with astronomy. Vadier, whose report on Catherine Théos, the visionary, opened the campaign against Robespierre, died penitent and religious in Belgium in 1828, aged 92. Isnard, also a convert to religion and monarchy, had knelt down in 1814 on the spot where Louis XVI. was guillotined, to ask pardon of God and men. He survived till 1825. Merlin of Douai, ordered to quit Holland, was shipwrecked at Flushing, whereupon the King, more compassionate than any other sovereign to the exiles, for he had himself known the bitterness of banishment, said, "The sea has given him back to me; I cannot give him back to the sea; I keep him." He took as secretary a fellow-exile, Choudieu, who had previously been a vinegar-maker and a proof-reader, and who, returning to France in 1830, died in 1838. Garnier of Saintes was less fortunate than Merlin. He reached America, but was drowned in 1818 by the capsizing of a boat on the Ohio. In the Terror he had demanded death for all *émigrés* and expulsion for all foreigners. Lakanal had a better chance. After being rector of New Orleans university he returned to France in 1830, and died at the age of eighty-three in 1845. His second wife, aged thirty when in 1838 she married the man of seventy-five, lived till 1881, enjoying a State pension. She was certainly the last surviving widow of a Conventional. Roger Ducos, in exile in 1816 at Ulm, was killed by being thrown from his carriage. Besson was in concealment from 1816 till his death in 1826. Thirion poisoned himself rather than

go into exile to America. Fouché, after serving and betraying Napoleon, died in exile at Trieste in 1820. Two of his sons died without issue, but the third, Athanase, found a protector in Bernadotte, who made him his chamberlain and procured him a rich wife. A grandson is now equerry to Bernadotte's grandson, the King of Swden,¹ and in 1875 he brought Fouché's remains from Trieste for interment in France.

Tallien, divorced in 1802 by his wife, the too famous Thérèse Cabarrus, who had become the mistress of Ouvrard, a wealthy army contractor, and practically disavowed by his daughter (she had married comte Narbonne Pelet), fell into extreme poverty, sold his books to stall-keepers on the quays, subsisted for the last few months on a pension of 2000 francs from Louis XVIII., and died in 1820.

Jacob Dupont, an ex-priest, who in 1792 publicly in the Convention avowed himself an atheist, became insane, and died in 1813. Bouquier, one of the five ex-Jacobins who did not seek office under Napoleon, a versifier of little ability, embraced Catholicism, and from 1795 till his death in 1810 lived in seclusion.

The revolution of 1830 re-admitted to France forty-five surviving regicides, but they found themselves cold-shouldered. There were but two exceptions. Maignet, spite of his atrocities at Lyons and elsewhere, was welcomed at Ambert, joined the bar there, and was even elected *bâtonnier*. He lived till 1834. Barère, the man pilloried by Macaulay, who had inhabited Belgium under an assumed name, and with terror of assassination, returned to Tarbes, and occasionally visited Paris, where he took tea with his old friend Lewis Goldsmith,² and brought busts of celebrities for his host's daughter (afterwards lady

¹ *Intermédiaire*, 1896.

² He had, as it were, in 1803 been Goldsmith's colleague, for while the latter published in English the *Argus*, Napoleon made Barère editor of the *Mémorial Anti-Britannique*, which, on the abandonment of the projected invasion of England, became the *Mémorial Européen*, and passed into other hands. Napoleon, however, refused to allow Barère to be elected to the Corps Législatif.

Lyndhurst, who died in 1901) to draw from. He was elected a member of the departmental council, was prudently silent when questioned by Carlyle through a friend on the truth of his Vengeur story of 1793, and, pensioned by Louis Philippe, survived till 1841, to the age of eighty-six. He advised the son of an old colleague to shun politics: "You see by my example how it disturbs life." A recent proposal to erect a statue of him at Tarbes was denounced and collapsed.

Sergeant, an engraver who was nicknamed Sergeant-Agate, on an unfounded imputation of appropriating a valuable agate ring, voted as a deputy for Paris for the King's death and other Jacobin measures. He was nevertheless prosecuted with five other members of the surveillance committee in May 1793 for embezzlement of public money. This prosecution came to nothing, but on the 3rd June 1795 he was arrested on the charge of complicity with the bread rioters. He profited, however, by the amnesty of the 25th October 1795. Perhaps to get rid of his odious nickname, he subjoined to his name that of his brother-in-law, General Marceau, lived in retirement at Nice till 1847, and found a complaisant biographer or editor in Mrs. Simpson (*née* Senior).¹

Next to him in longevity comes Thibaudeau. It was at his instance that Paine was readmitted into the Convention, and that pensions were allowed to the widows of the guillotined Girondins. He took a prominent part in the Council of Five Hundred.

One might have expected remorse on the part of Charles Henri Sanson, the executioner, for though he simply carried out the orders of the Revolutionary Tribunal, he ought to have felt that these were really murders. Balzac in *un Episode sous la Terreur* represents him as having a mass celebrated for Louis XVI. four days after his execution, and the *Biographie Universelle* speaks of his leaving money for an anniversary mass in St. Laurent's church. Another story is that he resigned after that

¹ "Reminiscences of a Regicide."

execution and died in six months. These are all pure legends. He remained in office till the 29th August 1795, when his son and assistant succeeded him, and he survived till the 4th July 1806, reaching the age of sixty-six. He left no such bequest. Uncertainty rests on the occasions when his place was taken by his son. The abbé Carrichon evidently speaks of the latter when he states that at the guillotining of the Noailles family the executioner was a young dandy, who, however, had the humanity to place the victims, on alighting from the cart, with their backs to the scaffold, so that no one of them should actually see the execution of the others. This consideration cannot have been always shown, or Madame Roland would not have had Lamarche executed before her, so that the aged man might not be unnerved by seeing her die.¹ Carrichon, however, adds that the executioner pulled off the bonnets of the duchesse d'Ayen and her daughter so roughly as to give them pain by their hair being wrenched. Executioners from 1688 to 1847, the last of the Sansons, a prisoner for debt, was no more heard of, but may have left descendants under a changed name.

Some, however, of the worst Terrorists escaped all punishment, and apparently suffered no remorse. Remorse ought to have been felt by Pons de Verdun, for he was largely responsible for the execution of thirty-five inhabitants of Verdun, seven of them women or girls over sixteen, who had more or less welcomed the Prussians in September 1792 as deliverers. Yet he tranquilly held judicial office under Napoleon, was banished, indeed, as a regicide from 1816 to 1830, continued through life even down to 1836 to publish insipid verses, and died in peace in 1844, aged 85. Alexandre de Laflotte, the spy and informer of the Luxembourg prison, is another example. He began by serving in the army, and was at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782. Vergennes' patronage introduced him into diplomacy, and he was *chargé*

¹ Madame St. Amaranthe, moreover, is said to have vainly begged to die before her children, and to have fainted on seeing her daughter beheaded.

d'affaires first at Genoa, then at Florence. Returning to Paris, he was arrested on the 29th March 1794, and sent to the Luxembourg. He had not long been there when he denounced 150 of his fellow-prisoners as conspiring to force their way out of prison and massacre the Convention. He gave evidence against them, and was largely responsible for their condemnation. Transferred on the 4th April to a guard-house, he was again at the Luxembourg when Robespierre fell, and contrived to get liberated as having been persecuted by him. Thereupon he retired to Douai, and practised unmolested as a barrister till his death.

Compared with this man, even the jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal are excusable, yet it is strange to find that those who were still living in 1815 were undisturbed and untouched by remorse. Dr. Souberbielle, though one of those who tried Marie Antoinette, led a tranquil life in Paris till 1848. The marquis Antonelle, one of the jurymen who condemned the poets Chénier and Roucher, turned royalist and Catholic, and lived to be a septuagenarian.

Those, however, who seek examples of retribution may content themselves with the vicissitudes of Jean Baptiste Drouet, who, on the night of the 21st June 1791, prevented the escape from France of Louis XVI., his wife, sister, and two children. Let us first hear Drouet's account of the affair, as related by him three days afterwards to the National Assembly at Paris :—

I am postmaster at St. Menehould, and was formerly a dragoon in the Condé regiment. On the 21st June, at half-past seven in the evening, two carriages and eleven horses were relayed at St. Menehould post-office. I thought I recognised the Queen, whom I had previously seen, and perceiving a man at the extremity of the carriage on the left, I was struck by the resemblance of his face to the effigy of the King on an *assignat* of 50 francs. These carriages being escorted by a detachment of dragoons, followed by a detachment of hussars, on the plea of protecting treasure coming from Châlons, it confirmed me in my suspicions, especially when I saw

the commandant of the detachment speaking in a very animated tone to one of the postillions. Fearing, however, to raise a false alarm, and being quite alone and unable to consult anybody, I allowed the carriages to start; but seeing the dragoons about to mount their horses to follow them, I ran to the guard-house, had the drums beat, and soon succeeded in preventing the departure of that troop. Immediately afterwards I took with Guillaume [district clerk, who had apparently been at the posting-house] the road by which the travellers had gone. On arriving [on nags] near Clermont, we were told that they had taken the Varennes road, and we turned towards that town, where we arrived by by-roads about eleven at night. It was very dark, and everybody was in bed. We saw the postillions baiting their horses, and resisting the remonstrances of the couriers, who pressed them to dispense with this. The carriages were drawn up close to the houses, in order to be less perceived. Alighting at an inn, I informed the landlord of the occasion of my journey. "Art thou a good patriot?" I asked. "Rest assured of that." "Well," I replied, "the King is here, and must be stopped." I urged him to go to the mayor and the commandant of the national guard, and collect other citizens to help us to arrest the King. Pending this help, another precaution seemed to us necessary to prevent his departure, viz. to block up the bridge by which the King had to pass. A wagon loaded with furniture was close by. It was immediately overturned and placed cross-wise, so that the passage was obstructed. We then, along with the procureur of the commune, approached the carriages, which were descending the road, and they were stopped, with the assistance of eight or ten well-disposed men. The commandant of the national guard, accompanied by the procureur, went up to the carriage and asked the travellers who they were and whither they were going. The Queen replied that she was in a great hurry, and begged to be allowed to proceed. She was asked whether she had a passport. She handed one to two ladies of her suite, who were conducted to the procureur's house, where it was read out. The passport bore the name of the Baroness de Korff. Some of those who heard it read out said this ought to be enough. We withstood this idea, because the passport was signed only by the King, whereas it should have been also signed by the president of the National Assembly. "If you are a foreigner," we said to the Queen, "how could you possess such influence as to have a detachment of hussars with you, and how, when you got to Clermont, had you such influence as to be escorted by a detachment of dragoons?" After these reflections and on our

persistence, it was decided that the travellers should not start till next day. They alighted, and were taken to the procureur's house. The King then, of his own accord, said, "Behold the King, my wife, and my children. We implore you to treat us with the respect which the French have always shown to their King." The national guards immediately collected in force, and the detachment of hussars at the same time arrived with swords drawn. They tried to approach the house where the King was, but we exclaimed that they should not carry him off without first killing us. They insisted on guarding the King. We replied that the national guard had arrested him and should alone guard him. The commandant of the national guard took the precaution, moreover, of sending for two small guns, which he placed at one end of the street, and two more at the other, so that the hussars were caught between two fires. They were summoned to alight from their horses; M. Joulas refused. He said he would guard the King with his troop. He was told that the national guard would guard him and did not need his help. He persisted. The commandant of the national guard then ordered the gunners to take their places and fire. They took the fuse into their hands. But I have the honour of remarking that the cannon were not loaded. In short, the commandant of the national guard and his force acted so well that they succeeded in disarming the hussars. The King thus became a prisoner. Having thus performed our duty we went home amid the congratulations of our fellow-citizens.

A letter from Fouchez, of the Varennes national guards, acknowledges that if the King had persisted in continuing his journey that night, the forty hussars could have accomplished it.¹ But indecision was his fatal weakness.

The Assembly, on the night of the 22nd, had been waited upon by Mangin, a surgeon at Varennes, who, starting at 4 A.M., had galloped to Paris, 150 miles, by 7 P.M. Mangin had simply brought the news of the King's arrest, yet he posed at first as the principal actor, and Robespierre proposed that he should be awarded a civic crown, but this was shelved by reference to a committee. A similar result next day attended a motion for civic crowns to Drouet and Guillaume, but the Jacobin club conferred crowns on all

¹ *Catalogue Charavay MSS.*, No. 173, 16.

three, admitted them to membership, and ordered their busts to be placed in its hall, which order, however, was not carried out. The minor theatres, too, invited them to performances, putting their names on the bills as an extra attraction. The Assembly, though hesitating to award civic crowns, had promised rewards. The Varennes national guards, indeed, on the 6th July, disclaimed any idea of recompense, and on the 28th August the national guards of Clermont followed suit, protesting that virtue should be its own reward, and would be sullied by grants of money. The St. Meneshould municipality, on the other hand, hearing that Varennes was about to have the principal awards, urged that it had played the chief rôle, by despatching Drouet and Guillaume to Varennes. It asked, therefore, for reimbursement of 24,797 francs, paid by the town in 1775 for the privilege of electing its own local functionaries. That body, moreover, had resolved on naming streets after Drouet and Guillaume, but this was not carried into effect.

The Assembly on the 18th August resolved on presenting guns and a flag to Varennes. The flag, captured by the Prussians in September 1792, is now in the Berlin Museum. Rewards were likewise accorded to twenty-six persons. Drouet headed the list with 30,000 francs. Sauce came next with 20,000 francs. Bayon, a Paris national guard who had followed and tracked the fugitives, and was only slightly forestalled by Drouet, also received 20,000 francs. Then came Guillaume, ex-dragoon and district clerk at St. Meneshould, who recognised the Queen as she passed through that town, with 10,000 francs. Leblanc, the Varennes publican; his brother Paul,¹ a watchmaker; Justin George, son of the mayor, and grenadier captain of national guards; Coquillard, a watchmaker; Joseph Ponsin,¹ grenadier; Mangin; Roland-Drouet, major of national guards; Itam or Itant, major of national guards of Cheppy; Carré, commandant, and Bedu, major, of national guards of Clermont; Thennevin, magistrate's clerk of Islettes; and Fenaux, national guard of St. Meneshould, had each 6000 francs.

¹ These two men threatened to fire into the carriage if it did not halt.

Regnier, of Montblainville, and Delion-Drouet, of Montfaucon, who were lodging with Leblanc; Barthe, a gendarme; Fouchez, national guard; and Lepointe, gendarme of St. Menehould, had each 3000 francs. Veyrat, a tradesman at St. Menehould, and Legay, a national guard there, both wounded, being mistaken in the darkness for fleeing dragoons, had 12,000 francs each; the widow Collet, whose son, a gendarme at St. Menehould, was shot by mistake, 2000 francs; Lebaude, wounded near Châlons, 2000 francs; Linio, gendarme of Clermont, 600 francs; and Pierson, gendarme, 400 francs. Four thousand seven hundred and fifty francs was also divided among the national guards who escorted the King back to Paris.

These awards gave rise to great jealousies. Men who were not in the list envied those who were in it, and the latter had bickerings among themselves. Carré and Bedu at once refused the money, which the Assembly accordingly handed over for local objects at Clermont. Guillaume declined to take more than 400 francs, for the expenses of his visit to Paris, and even this sum, on the 3rd January 1792, he handed over for the military pensioners at Paris. Drouet drew his 30,000 francs on the 21st October. It is sometimes stated that he also refunded it, but I can find no evidence of this, and on the 18th July 1791 he had already received 250 francs for accompanying the King to Paris. Sauce received payment on the 26th September, but first offered a portion, and eventually the whole, to Varennes. Most of the beneficiaries, indeed, found it expedient to hand over the money for local purposes, or to distribute it among the national guards or inhabitants generally, and some scandalous scrambles in the latter case occurred, especially at Montblainville and at Varennes, where thirty persons on the list refused any share. The three postillions put in a claim, urging that by insisting on stopping to bait and rest their horses outside Varennes they gave time to Drouet to block the bridge, and they pretended to have done this on purpose. The claim, however, was not allowed, but on the 13th June 1792 Chevallot and Gentil, national guards at Varennes,

who must have been pertinacious applicants, received 3000 francs each, though their comrades had disavowed their pretensions. There was also much bickering between St. Menehould, Varennes, and Clermont, as to presents of guns.

Before relating Drouet's vicissitudes let us dispose of the minor personages in the drama. Guillaume on the 13th and 20th November reappeared before the Assembly to ask for a post in the gendarmerie of the Marne. We do not hear whether he obtained it, but he reached the age of seventy, dying in 1840 from a fall into a well. He had latterly lived in a hut, a kind of bearded hermit, on a hill overlooking St. Menehould. Sauce, styled procureur, which we may translate town treasurer, was a tallow chandler. It was in his house that the royal fugitives arrested at Varennes passed the first night. The King's Bourbon appetite there compelled him to ask for supper, and he praised the Burgundy as the best he had ever tasted. It was to Madame Sauce that the Queen fruitlessly appealed to facilitate an escape. She replied that she also had to think of her family, and could not expose them to vengeance and ruin. Sauce's reply to solicitations was: "I love my King, but I shall remain faithful to my country." There is reason to think that both Sauce and his wife, in common with a portion of the inhabitants, would readily have connived at an escape but for fear of consequences. This suspicion may account for the unpopularity which befell Sauce. Four months after the King's arrest a mob broke into his house, smashed the furniture, and dragged him off to prison. His accounts, too, were overhauled, though he appears to have been an honest man, and he was threatened with prosecution. Persecuted, perhaps, by royalists as well as Jacobins, he fell into a kind of persecution-monomania, and was glad to quit Varennes for a clerkship to the criminal tribunal at St. Mihiel. Other inhabitants, too, had left the town on account of the ill-feeling which prevailed. Nor were Sauce's troubles at an end. In September 1792 the Prussians occupied St. Mihiel, and threatened dire punishment

on the actors of June 1791. Sauce fled to Troyes, whence tidings reached the Assembly that his wife had died, and that his eldest daughter's life was in jeopardy. The wife, fleeing in a panic, had fallen into a well. The Prussians extricated her, but her injuries or her fright proved fatal. The invaders repulsed, Sauce returned to his post, and as clerk had to sign the depositions against the Verdun inhabitants—men, women, and girls—who were sent to Paris in March 1794 to be guillotined for having welcomed the Prussians. He survived till 1824. Leblanc, the Varennes publican, had also to flee from the Prussians.

But Drouet is the man who chiefly interests us. Born in 1763, he is said to have had a college education at Châlons, which would account for rhetorical compositions scarcely to be expected from a country timber merchant and postmaster's son. At eighteen he enlisted in the Condé dragoons, but after seven years' service returned home to join his mother or elder brother in the business, for his father had died in 1770. We have seen that he accompanied the royal family back to Paris, and they had again on the way thither to change horses at his post-house. On his return to St. Menehould menacing letters were addressed to him, as also to Guillaume. Whether or not he retained the 30,000 francs blood money—for so, considering the result, it may be called—his ambition then aimed no higher than a post in the gendarmerie, and this seems to have been promised him. Back in Paris, on the 13th November 1791 he presented to the Assembly a petition for this purpose, which was referred to a committee, and on the 20th he repeated the application. He also, on behalf of himself and the other postmasters between St. Menehould and Paris, solicited payment for the relays on the King's return journey, which, strange to say, had not been cleared off.¹ He had already in September been chosen one of the *suppléants* in the Marne—that is to say, had any of the deputies died he was on the list for filling the vacancies, but this contingency did not arrive. In the autumn of

¹ *Procès-Verbaux de l'Assemblée Législative.*

1792 he headed or joined a free corps of 500 men for resisting the invaders, and Goethe, under date of the 3rd September, writes in his "Campaign in France" :—

I should mention a notable man whom I have seen, only however at a distance and behind prison bars, viz. the postmaster of St. Meneshould, who had clumsily allowed himself to be captured by the Prussians. He did not at all mind being stared at by the curious, and, though uncertain of his fate, appeared quite composed. The *émigrés* maintained that he had deserved a thousand deaths, and they urged this on the chief command, but it must be said to its honour that on this as on other occasions it conducted itself with proper dignity and with noble equanimity.

And on the 28th he says :—

The postmaster of St. Meneshould has been exchanged for persons in the suite of the King [of Prussia], captured on the 20th September between the baggage wagons and the army.

The evidence of an eye-witness would seem conclusive, yet it is certain that Goethe mistook George, mayor and deputy for Varennes, for Drouet. On the 2nd October Carra and other members of the Convention, in a despatch from St. Meneshould, stated that they had there met "le respectable George." "This good old man, thrown by order of our enemies into the dungeons of Verdun, has just been exchanged for the King of Prussia's secretary, who had been made a prisoner. The artless narrative of the cruel manner in which he was arrested, the privations which he underwent in prison, the firmness with which he replied to questions, perhaps also the touching costume in which he appeared among us, drew tears from all beholders." It was possible, indeed, for both men to have been captured and exchanged, but besides the silence of Carra, there is the silence of Drouet himself, who never failed to sound the trumpet over his adventures. Drouet, moreover, on the 3rd September, by 135 votes out of 204, was elected as the seventh of the ten deputies of the Marne to the Convention. It is evident that a prisoner in the hands of the Prussians would not have been elected.

There is, moreover, the testimony of the Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards Frederick William III.) and of Lombard, the King's secretary, who, in a letter to his wife, distinctly states that he himself was exchanged, on the proposal of Dumouriez, for George :—

The French princes vainly exclaimed against their victim being snatched from them ; the King's humanity prevailed, and this kind master agreed to everything in order to redeem me.

George was father of the Justin George who was offered but refused a reward of 6000 francs.

For the postmaster of a small town to become in fourteen months a member of the Convention was a rapid rise. We may give Drouet credit for a sense of duty in arresting the King, whose escape would have been regarded as a calamity, and up to this point he is exempt from reproach ; but henceforth his career commands no respect. The Convention, as we have seen,¹ twice sent him to the Temple to ask the captive king whether he had any complaint to make of his treatment. To choose him for this mission argues either thoughtlessness or wanton insult ; a man of any delicacy in Drouet's place would have refused the mission. On the 15th December he actually proposed to deprive the King of any communication with his family, but the Convention rejected this inhuman demand. He voted, of course, and spoke twice at the Jacobin club in favour of the King's death, as also for the proscription of the Girondin deputies. In July 1793, on a rumour of the Dauphin's escape, he went again to the Temple, where, he reported, he found the Dauphin playing at draughts with his keeper, and the Queen, her sister-in-law, and her daughter in good health. He escorted Charlotte Corday to prison, and delivered a rhapsodical eulogium on Marat. The Convention ordered its insertion in the daily bulletin, but this not having been done, Drouet next day complained, and called for the dismissal of the editor. On the 4th September 1793, the anniversary of the prison massacres,

¹ See p. 142.

he proposed that if France should be invaded the imprisoned "suspects" should be pitilessly slaughtered, so that the enemy might find a land covered with corpses. This sanguinary language was sternly rebuked by Thuriot. Five days afterwards Drouet was sent as a commissioner to the army of the North. Leaving besieged Maubeuge on the night of the 2nd October to procure relief, he fell with his horse into a ditch, could not overtake his escort, and was captured by the Austrians. He was taken first to Brussels, then to Luxembourg, and finally to the famous fortress of Spielberg¹ in Moravia. On the 15th September 1794 the Convention received from its commissaries at Brussels an instrument with which it was alleged both his head and his hands were fettered while a prisoner there. It resolved that this should be on permanent view at the foot of the statue of Liberty on the place de la Concorde, inscribed "Peoples of the universe, behold the blessings of liberty." A veteran was to be stationed there to explain to children the mechanism of this instrument of torture. It is to be observed, however, that Drouet, in a full account of his captivity after his release, makes no mention of this machine, though he does complain of being kept without food for thirty-six hours, of being struck and spat upon by the prince of Thurn, of being immured in a dark, damp cell at Luxembourg, and of being insulted by French *émigrés* on his way to Spielberg. There he allows that he was treated with humanity, though kept in solitary confinement and not permitted to communicate with his wife and children. By dint of two months' labour, which had to be carefully concealed from the turnkeys on their visits twice a day, he contrived a kind of parachute, unravelling his stockings and nightcaps to serve as thread, and utilising the curtain rods and the sheets off his bed. He hoped thus to descend from his upper room, get into a boat on the river Schwartz, which was visible from his window, and float down first the Schwartz and then the Danube, so as to reach Constantinople, which he seems to have imagined

¹ Where Silvio Pellico was immured, 1822-30.

stood on the latter river. He would fain have fixed the 21st June 1794 for his escape, as the anniversary of "the memorable day when I saw success gloriously crown an enterprise at least as perilous as that which I meditated"—one does not see, however, what peril he incurred at Varennes—but indisposition forced him to wait till the 8th July. He tells us that as a farewell message he wrote on a plank with cherry-juice a letter to the Austrian Emperor complaining of his harsh treatment and justifying his escape. It is not easy to believe that he thus indited a letter of 500 or 600 words, or, what is more, was able on his release to quote it word for word. We can, however, conclude from the supply of cherries that his dietary was not amiss.¹ Like a second Icarus, as he says, he made the leap, for he had begun by cutting through the bars of his window, leaving them however temporarily in position, but he fell into the courtyard with unexpected velocity, which he attributes to his twenty-five- or thirty-pound bundle of clothes and provisions. The heavy fall dislocated his ankle, and he lay groaning and helpless till daylight, quite unable to scale the wall. For three months he suffered great pain, and then had for a time to use crutches, but in May 1795 he had tidings of his family, and on the 3rd November of that year he was released, being exchanged, with four other members of the Convention, for Madame Royale, Louis XVI.'s daughter. The irony of fate thus connected him a second time with one of the fugitives arrested by him at Varennes.

On the 12th February 1796 Drouet was presented by the Council of Five Hundred with a horse as compensation for that captured by the Austrians. He had, while still a prisoner, been elected a member of that body, and on the 23rd January he had been chosen as one of its secretaries. But on the 24th May he was a prisoner at the Abbaye as an accomplice of the anarchist Babeuf. The latter had corresponded with him, and had sent him suggestions for a

¹ Pellico also was offered cherries by his friendly warder, a Swiss named Schiller.

speech in defence of political clubs. Drouet, moreover, had placarded the Marne with bills advocating the revival of the Constitution of 1793. The Council of Five Hundred decided, by 141 votes to 58, that he should be prosecuted, and his wife seems to have vainly pleaded for permission to visit him. On the 16th August, however, filing through the bars of his three-story window, he lowered himself by a rope and escaped. This, at least, was the official version, but the truth is that the escape was connived at by the Directory, the rope being placed there merely to save appearances, and the trial and acquittal of the jailor for negligence being a farce. He is said to have also shared in the attempted seizure of the camp at Grenelle, after which he left Paris, concealed under straw in a milkwoman's cart. The Vendôme jury acquitted most of the accused, the contumacious Drouet included, but meanwhile he had started under an assumed name for India. At the Canary Islands the English fleet under Nelson, while he was ashore, captured the vessel, with his effects, leaving him penniless, but Drouet was sent back to France by the French consul. Arriving in September 1797, he petitioned the Council of Five Hundred, his term of membership of which had expired, for pecuniary assistance, and he was allowed 26,000 francs to cover his losses by his Austrian captivity. He ought by this time to have been cured of politics, but in July 1799 he was one of the leaders of a club which met in the riding-school of the Tuileries, the building which had been occupied by the National Assembly after quitting Versailles. There on the 22nd July he denounced the cavalry inspectors for tolerating the presence of incapable fops unable to make a truss of hay or carry a sack of oats. Probably to get rid of such an agitator from Paris, he was appointed a commissary in the Marne, and nothing more is heard of him till consul Bonaparte made him sub-prefect of St. Menehould. The flaming democrat was content to serve a tyrant. In 1803 Drouet, then a widower, was an unsuccessful candidate for the Corps Législatif. In 1807, on Napoleon visiting St. Menehould, Drouet escorted him

over the battlefield of Valmy, and was admitted into the Legion of Honour. In 1813 he sought to be a police commissary-general, but the sub-prefecture was to be his *ne plus ultra*.

The Countess Dash, in her "Souvenirs of the Restoration," tells a curious story of him. She states that when Marie Louise, on entering France as Napoleon's bride, stopped at Varennes to change horses, she was harangued and complimented by a man who, it was whispered to her, was Drouet. The officer in attendance had told the duchesse de Montebello, and the latter whispered it to the Empress. She drove off, leaving him red with rage at his unfinished speech, and she exclaimed, "How audacious of that man! He cannot have known that Marie Antoinette was my aunt." Drouet was doubtless quite capable of complimenting sovereigns (*quantum mutatus ab illo*), but Marie Louise did not pass through Varennes.

On the fall of Napoleon, Drouet of course lost his post, being succeeded by Chamisso, apparently a brother of the author of "Peter Schlemihl"; but on his old master's return from Elba he was elected, on the 10th May 1815, a deputy for the Marne in the short-lived Chamber. In 1816 the regicides were banished, and the police searched for him near Verdun, in the house of Courtois, a fellow-regicide. His son professed to have quarrelled with him, and to be ignorant of his whereabouts. His sister, a nun, represented him as dead. He passed three months in an old quarry near St. Menehould, was next a groom at St. Denis, and then an army tailor in the south. Under the name of Maergesse, pretending to be a Belgian, he then settled at Macon, with a German woman who had eloped with him from her French husband. She opened a small confectioner's shop, while Drouet, after failing as a distiller, acted as factotum to an aged royalist, attending to his garden and daily reading to him the *Quotidienne*, an ultra-royalist paper. Drouet had, of course, to affect sympathy with its opinions. This was the last stage in his chequered

career. Not till his death in April 1824 was it known through his concubine that the menial was the man who had arrested the royal family at Varennes. His elder brother died in 1833, at the age of eighty-three.

Coquillard, the Varennes watchmaker, was killed in 1821 by falling downstairs when drunk; and Signemont, commandant of the Neuville national guards, unaccountably overlooked in the list of rewards, was found dead some years after 1791 in the forest of Argonne, his body half devoured by wolves. A mystery hung over his fate. It may be added that of the four deputies sent by the Assembly to bring the King back to Paris, two, Pétion and Barnave, perished in the Reign of Terror; while a third, Latour-Maubourg, captured with Lafayette, spent three years in an Austrian prison. The fourth, Mathieu Dumas, had in 1792 to quit France to escape the Jacobins. He returned in disguise, wandering from place to place, sought refuge in Switzerland, and re-entered France on the fall of Robespierre; but he had again to flee to escape transportation to Cayenne, the "*guillotine sèche*." Later on he served Napoleon, who made him a count, but he was captured in the retreat from Moscow. A peer of France under Louis Philippe, he enjoyed a tranquil old age, dying in 1837, in his eighty-fifth year. It is but fair to say that of these four deputies who took charge of the royal family, all but Pétion were respectful or even compassionate. Nevertheless the arrest of Varennes may be said to have brought ill-luck to nearly all the principal actors in it.

It is natural to ask what descendants were left by the Revolutionists. Mirabeau had a natural son, Lucas de Montigny, who published several volumes of his papers. Robespierre, St. Just, Barère, and Carrier were unmarried. Couthon had a son, Antoine, born in 1787, who served in the army, was vice-consul in Italy, was decorated by Napoleon III., and lived till 1867. Antoine had a son, who left daughters. Couthon's widow married a doctor, Charreyre, and lived till 1843. Desmoulins had a son,

Horace, who was a barrister in Paris, was decorated by the Bourbons, emigrated to St. Domingo, and died there in 1825, leaving only a daughter. He had also two daughters. Danton by his second wife¹ had two sons, George and Antoine, who, on their mother marrying Claude Dupin² (she lived till 1856), were brought up by her father. They had a cotton factory at Arcis, Danton's native place, and were unmarried. Antoine, already disposed to insanity, took fright at a deputation which went to congratulate him on the revolution of 1848, and committed suicide. George survived till 1858. Antoine left a natural daughter, who in 1897, widow of Mennuel, was living at Arcis. Barnave and Vergniaud, if married, were childless. Condorcet had a daughter, who married Arthur O'Connor, the Irish refugee, uncle of Feargus O'Connor, the Chartist M.P. Brissot had three sons. The eldest, a sailor, died in St. Domingo. The second, a student at the Polytechnic School, refused the oath of allegiance to Napoleon, and was consequently expelled, for which he revenged himself, on the capitulation of Paris in 1814, by a placard stigmatising the fallen tyrant. The third, Anacharsis, who had a large family, kept a small wine-shop in Paris, and, being ruined by speculations, became bankrupt. A subscription was opened for him in 1830. A grandson of Brissot, a mediocre painter, died in 1892. Pétion left a son, born in 1783; so also did Barbaroux. Madame Roland had a daughter, Eudora, who in 1799 married her guardian's son, Léon Champagneux, and had two daughters, Zelia and Malvina. She died in 1858. Her daughters left descendants. Buzot, Madame Roland's platonic lover, had, as we have seen, a wife, but no children. Billaud, Collot d'Herbois, and Chaumette were also

¹ She was a staunch Catholic, and made it a condition of marriage that he should confess to and be married by a recusant priest, Kernavenan, afterwards curé of St. Germain des Prés.

² Dupin, one of Napoleon's prefects and barons, had the baseness to propose, in 1797, that constitutional priests who had retracted should be discovered by adroit detectives being sent to them as sham penitents for confession.

married, but childless.¹ Adam Lux had two daughters, one of whom drowned herself through unrequited affection for Jean Paul Richter. Carnot had two sons, Sadi, a mathematician who died young, and Hippolyte, minister of education in 1848, who died shortly after his son Sadi's election in 1887 to the presidency of the Republic. Marat had no children by his *quasi*-wife. Lafayette had two sons, but the male line is now extinct. Fabre d'Églantine had a son, who became a naval engineer, and under the Restoration accepted the cross of St. Louis. He married, in 1830, Agiathis, daughter of Sambat, a fanatical Jacobin, who till his death in 1826 retained the use of the republican calendar. Father and daughter were both miniature portrait painters. Babeuf, the agrarian agitator, left a son ten years of age, Camille, who in 1815, to avoid seeing the Cossacks enter Paris, threw himself from the Vendôme column. Of a second son, Caius Gracchus, born during the father's trial, nothing is known. Hébert left a daughter, named Scipion Virginie, who was born in February 1793, and her guardian obtained the restitution of her father's confiscated papers. Barras left descendants, but poor and obscure. Fouquier's daughter by his first wife was a staunch Catholic, and at her death in 1856 there was found among her possessions a bronze medal of the Virgin, which her father wore hung round his neck on the day of Marie Antoinette's condemnation. Her half-brother, of whom we have already heard, after serving in Napoleon's armies, and after a fruitless attempt to curry favour with the restored Bourbons, died in poverty in 1826.

¹ Chaumette's widow was arrested in August 1800 for agitating against the Consulate in the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. Portraits of Robespierre and Marat were found in her possession, yet Robespierre had executed her husband (A.F. iv. 1329).

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

PROFANATION OF TOMBS

THE Jacobins, who had so little respect for the living, were not likely to show more for the dead, especially when lead was urgently required for bullets. Military exigencies and fanatical iconoclasm went hand in hand. On the 1st August 1793 the Convention decreed that on the 10th, the anniversary of the fall of the monarchy, the royal tombs at St. Denis and elsewhere should be destroyed. The organist of St. Denis has left an account of what happened there on the 11th October.¹ The bodies of fifty-two kings and notabilities, whether in stone or lead coffins, were taken up and interred in one grave at the cemetery. The remains of Princess Louise, Louis XV.'s daughter, at the adjoining Carmelite convent, shared the same fate. A temporary foundry was established in the cemetery to melt down the lead. Henry IV. and Turenne were in such preservation as to be recognisable. Three of Du Guesclin's teeth were pulled out and presented to the organist, who continued in office when Christian services had been superseded by Décadi gatherings, at which, under the presidency of Sallart, the mayor, an ex-Benedictine, licentious songs were chanted.²

At Sens the bodies of Louis XVI.'s parents were taken up, "recalling them after their death," as a deputation on the 3rd June 1794 told the Convention, "to an equality unknown to them in their lifetime." The deputation presented the hearts, together with several crowns and sceptres found in the tombs. The lead was to be used to kill the country's enemies.

The Paris municipality in October 1793 ordered a search of tombs for jewels, gold, silver, bronze, or lead. Alexandre Lenoir saw Cardinal Richelieu's remains exposed to view at the Sorbonne

¹ *Cabinet Historique*, vol. xxi.

² In 1815 search was made for the remains, but as quicklime had been thrown over them very few bones were found. These were re-interred in a vault in the cathedral, with an inscription stating that they are the remains of eighteen kings (from Dagobert downwards) and ten queens. The body of Louise, queen of Henry III., which in the Capucin chapel at Paris had escaped profanation, was placed with them.

chapel, and he had reason to remember it, for on his objecting to the profanation, a national guard pricked his hand with a bayonet, producing a permanent scar. The body was like a mummy. The skin was livid, the cheeks puffy, the lips thin, the hair white. A man cut off the head and carried it away. It passed through several hands, and one owner sawed it in two lengthwise. The rest of the body was removed with the tomb to Lenoir's Museum. Under the Restoration it was replaced in the Pantheon, and in 1867 the head was restored, but simply placed in a cavity. On the 25th June 1895, in the presence of the Princess of Monaco, as representative of Richelieu's collateral descendants and owner of his castle and relics, the skull was sealed up. M. Hanotaux, the Cardinal's biographer, was one of the spectators.

The heart of another cardinal, Archbishop Noailles, at Notre Dame, was picked up and presented to the bell-ringer, who in 1812 restored it to the Noailles family.

James II.'s tomb at the English Benedictine monastery, a short distance from the Sorbonne, was likewise despoiled, and the body disappeared. The lead coffin had been covered with a black silver pall, bits of which had been given to visitors as a cure for scrofula. Henry Parker, prior of the monastery, thus describes it in 1790:—

In a small chapel on the side [of the nave] are the bodies of James II. of England and Princess Louisa, his daughter, and there is a small box which contains a wax bust of the said king. . . . This chapel is separated from the church by an iron railing, and the two bodies are surrounded by iron railings, but all the hangings are in the most pitiable condition.¹

"F. S. M.," writing to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1798, says:—

Whilst we at the Scotch College were thus forgetting, or endeavouring to forget, hunger and want of liberty, other English prisoners at the Benedictines (another *maison dorée*) were amusing themselves with the bodily resurrection of James II. He was taken out of the coffin, where he lay folded in black silk velvet, of which Miss White, one of the witnesses of the scene, gave me a piece. She assured me he was like an original black lead pencil portrait I had of him which I found in the [college] library: his nose prominent, not a Roman nose, because the end of it was long and *abundant*, the lower part of his long oval face the reverse of prominent, his cheek what the country people call lantern-jawed. I forgot to ask what became of his body.

¹ S. 3656.

A Mrs. Anne Gray White, with her son and two daughters—Mary Anne, aged 16, and Elizabeth, aged 14—were among the English prisoners, and one of these girls was probably the writer's informant. An Irishman named Fitzsimons, living at Toulouse in 1840—doubtless Gerard Luther Fitzsimons, a native of Quilen, county Cavan, an ex-Capucin monk, who, having been a colonel in the French army, was in 1821 allowed a pension on condition of being naturalised—gave an account which was published in *Notes and Queries* in 1850.¹ He states that there were two wooden coffins, one within the other, and an outer leaden one. The body, swathed like a mummy and redolent of camphor and vinegar, was in perfect preservation, the face being as though alive. He rolled the eyes and found them quite firm. The teeth were the finest he had ever seen, and were so firmly fixed that he vainly tried to pull one out for a lady prisoner. The hands and nails were elegant, and he bent every finger. The feet also were very fine. The body was exposed to view nearly a whole day, and the prisoners, French as well as English, gave money to be allowed to see it. The Jacobins said James was a good sansculotte, and they intended to put him into a hole like other sansculottes in the churchyard. (Qy.—The churchyard of St. Jacques des Hauts-Pas.) The body was carried away, but where it was thrown he never heard, and George IV. vainly, after 1814, inquired for tidings of it.

One might have expected that Fox, a descendant of James II. and engaged in preparing his biography, would have made inquiries while in Paris in 1802, but we do not hear that he even visited the Benedictine monastery, then turned to secular uses.

The coffin of Princess Louisa, placed alongside her father's, seems to have attracted no attention.

Miss Strickland, on visiting Paris in 1844, was told by Mrs. Fairbairn, the superior of the English Austin convent, that for some reason the corpse escaped demolition at the Revolution, though the Republicans broke open the coffin. They found the limbs supple, and, she believed, held some superstitious reverence for it, which, however, did not prevent them from making a show of it, and receiving from the spectators a sou or a franc.² This tradition, after the lapse of so many years, cannot be implicitly accepted, and Miss Strickland was quite mistaken in concluding that the body was re-interred at St. Germain in 1824. What was then re-interred were merely the bowels, which, originally consigned there,

¹ See *Nineteenth Century*, January 1889.

² "Life of Agnes Strickland," 1887.

had been discovered during repairs to the church. The late Monsignor Rogerson possessed a glove-box made from a piece of the coffin carried off by a spectator of the desecration. James's body was in all probability thrown into a sewer or pit. This had been the fate of the royal hearts and bowels bequeathed to the Val de Grâce convent.

The tomb of Mary of Modena at Chaillot nunnery, which also possessed James II.'s heart and that of Henrietta Maria, was likewise desecrated, and Henri IV.'s heart at la Flèche was exhumed.

In December 1793 the district of Montélimar (Drôme) ordered a search for plate, copper, or lead in the church of Grignan. Among the tombs consequently opened was that of Madame de Sévigné, interred there in 1696. Her hair was entirely detached. The mason Fournier cut off a lock, as also a piece of the dress. Pialla, the magistrate, sawed the skull in two, and sent the upper portion to Paris. He also appropriated a tooth. Veyrenc, a notary, received a rib. In February 1897 a piece of the dress was included in the sale of Baron Pichon's curiosities. In 1870, during repairs to Grignan church, the lower portion of a skull was found, and this is believed to be the portion left in 1792, albeit the Dominicans of Nancy possess an entire skull which they hold to be Madame de Sévigné's.¹

Buffon's tomb at Montbard was destroyed for the sake of the lead. His son induced the Education committee of the Convention to request the municipality to place a small stone on the grave.² This implies that the body had been re-interred.

Madame de Maintenon, as has been aptly said, was treated as a queen by the Jacobins. In January 1794 her embalmed body was brought out from its tomb at St. Cyr chapel, stripped, dragged to a cemetery, and thrown into a hole. In 1802, St. Cyr having become a military college, the director, Crouzet, rescued it and buried it in the court, but his successor, General Duteil, resenting such honours, exhumed it in 1805, and it was consigned to an old chest in a garret. There many of the bones disappeared. In 1836, however, another director, Baraguey d'Hilliers, placed the remaining bones in a marble tomb in a side chapel, where they are not likely to be again disturbed.

¹ *Figaro*, 19th April 1897.

² W. 165.

APPENDIX B

CONCORDANCE OF GREGORIAN AND JACOBIN CALENDARS

Year 1.	A.D.
1 Vendémiaire	22nd Sept. 1792.
1 Brumaire	22nd Oct. 1792.
1 Frimaire	21st Nov. 1792.
1 Nivôse	21st Dec. 1792.
1 Pluviôse	20th Jan. 1793.
1 Ventôse	19th Feb. 1793.
1 Germinal	21st March 1793.
1 Floréal	20th April 1793.
1 Prairial	20th May 1793.
1 Messidor	19th June 1793.
1 Thermidor	19th July 1793.
1 Fructidor	18th Aug. 1793.
Complementary days or Sansculottides	17th to 21st Sept. 1793.

For year 2, simply convert 1792 into 1793, and 1793 into 1794.

A.D.	Year 1.
1st Oct. 1792	10 Vendémiaire.
1st Nov. 1792	11 Brumaire.
1st Dec. 1792	11 Frimaire.
1st Jan. 1793	12 Nivôse.
1st Feb. 1793	13 Pluviôse.
1st March 1793	11 Ventôse.
1st April 1793	12 Germinal.
1st May 1793	12 Floréal.
1st June 1793	13 Prairial.
1st July 1793	13 Messidor.
1st Aug. 1793	14 Thermidor.
1st Sept. 1793	15 Fructidor.
17th to 21st Sept. 1793	Sansculottides.

In giving a table of the Jacobin calendar (edition 1871, iii. 158), Carlyle says, "Romme's first leap year is *an* 4 (1795)." Either 4 is

a misprint or slip of the pen for 3, or Carlyle imagined that the Sansculottides, which were added to the twelve months of thirty days each, were reckoned as the beginning of a year and not as the end. The first Jacobin leap year day, or 6th Culottides, was the 22nd September 1795, but it was the end of *an* 3, and the second was the 22nd September 1799 at the end of *an* 7. I may mention that the intention was to miss a leap year once in 129 years, so as to be more closely accurate than the Gregorian calendar, which misses three leap years in 400 years. The Jacobins did not therefore, like other people, omit leap year in 1800. The concordance of the old and new calendars from the 1st March 1800 is thus somewhat complicated. The Jacobin new year's day usually answers to the 22nd September, but in 1795 it was the 23rd and so also in 1799, while in 1803 it was the 24th.

On the very day of Robespierre's execution an applicant asked the Convention to restore the old calendar, which everybody, he said, used in the provinces. Boissieu backed the suggestion, urging that sooner or later the new calendar would have to be flung into the fire; but La Reveillère Lepaux defended it, and the Convention declined to take action. Again, a fortnight later, on the 24th Thermidor, the Bonnes Nouvelles section of Paris asked for the abolition of the new calendar, as being unknown outside Paris, and isolating Paris from the rest of the world. It also solicited the abolition of the new weights and measures, which it said were unintelligible; but there were murmurs, and nothing was done. Pinkerton in 1802 ("Recollections of Paris") found the concurrent use of the old and new calendars very inconvenient, and on the 1st January 1806 the latter was abolished. How little the Jacobin calendar was ever observed outside Paris is shown by the fact, mentioned in a police report of the spring of 1794, that the market gardeners and poulterers of the surrounding villages continued to send in their largest supplies on Saturdays.

APPENDIX C

REVOLUTIONARY PHRASES

So many misapprehensions exist as to the origin of expressions employed in the Revolution that it is well to correct them. Let us begin with two phrases commonly assigned to Robespierre. The first refers to negro emancipation. "Perish our colonies," he exclaimed on the 13th May 1791, "if we had to sacrifice our glory, happiness, and liberty for them." This obviously suggested a passage in Vergniaud's speech on the 17th September 1792 in support of a motion declaring the Paris Commune answerable for the lives of its prisoners. He cited Tell as exclaiming, when about to shoot the apple, "Perish William Tell and his memory, provided Switzerland is free," and he added, "Perish the National Assembly and the names of all its members, provided that the French people are free, and that we prevent the crimes by which it is sought to dishonour them." The second is the term "*Être Suprême*." Because Robespierre proposed the *fête de l'Être Suprême*, people imagine that he originated that name for the Deity. But it had been used by Massillon and Bourdaloue, the famous pulpit orators, a century earlier, and after them by Voltaire and Rousseau. In the National Assembly, on the 19th August 1789, the abbé Bonnefoi suggested the insertion in the Declaration of the Rights of Man of an affirmation that "the Supreme Being had made men free and equal in rights." The Declaration, as ultimately adopted, contained the words, "In the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being." Vergniaud, however, objected to the insertion of a similar preamble in the Constitution of 1792. "We have nothing to do," he said, "with Numa's nymph or Mahomet's pigeon. Reason alone will enable us to give France the best constitution." Robespierre's use of the term "Supreme Being," however, certainly gave it increased currency among the Terrorists, but according to Laharpe it puzzled the multitude, so that a sans-culotte who spoke of God was silenced by a comrade with "Hold your tongue! there is no longer a God; there is only a Supreme Being." Robespierre's use of the term, nevertheless, did not discredit it in other quarters, for Joseph Le Maistre, the Catholic

apologist, continued to employ it, and French Protestants used it during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

To Danton are assigned two well-known phrases. On the 16th August 1792, when the electoral delegates of Paris suggested the arming of the whole population, and the sending of suspects to the frontier in the front ranks of the troops, while the wives of sansculottes should care for children and the aged at home, he advocated "terror" against reactionaries. The expression is not in the *Moniteur*, for, unlike most of the revolutionary orators, he did not read his speeches and hand over the manuscript to that paper. On the 4th September 1793 a Parisian deputation called upon the Convention to "*placer la terreur à l'ordre du jour*," and Barère endorsed it as "*un grand mot*." Danton also, as is well known, exclaimed, "De l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace," but what has escaped notice is that this was probably suggested to him by Bacon's "Essay on Boldness," which, varying Demosthenes' axiom for orators, "Action, action, action," enjoined in politics, "What first? Boldness. What second and third? Boldness." The Essays had been translated into French, and Bonaparte later on took with him to Egypt a copy of the French translation; but Danton knew English.

The motto, *Liberté Egalité Fraternité*, was first suggested at the Cordeliers club in June 1791, as one which should be worn on the breast by all soldiers. The suggestion probably emanated from Momoro, one of the Hébertists guillotined in the spring of 1794. Anyhow it was he who, in 1793, inscribed it on public buildings, a custom revived in 1870, so that we have even seen it figure on prisons. Rabaut St. Étienne—he too was guillotined—wished for the word *propriété* in lieu of *fraternité*. In the height of the Terror the words "*ou la mort*" were added, which, however, simply meant that the Jacobins would die rather than sacrifice the three desiderata. John King, in 1802, remarked that these three words had been nearly obliterated, but were still faintly visible.

Ça ira, the revolutionary refrain, is commonly ascribed to Franklin, who, when ambassador in France, used to say of American independence, *Ça ira*.

Sansculotte was derived from a satire, *les Sans-Culottes*, written by Lacueil in 1776 in retaliation on Gilbert, a versifier, for sarcasms on the philosophers or freethinkers. Gilbert was poor, and people of fashion applied the term to ill-dressed authors. In the Revolution the phrase was revived, and the Jacobins adopted with pride what had been a nickname.

La carrière ouverte aux talents, usually attributed to Napoleon, was first used by Bishop Grégoire¹ in his report on dialects.

Let me add that the term "revolution" had been used by Barbier in 1751, and by Voltaire in 1764, to indicate a quiet transformation. When we are told, therefore, that the Revolution was predicted by Chesterfield and others, we should remember that they simply looked forward to a bloodless change of government.

The phrase *perfide Albion* was popularised, if not coined, during the Revolution. Bossuet, however, had spoken of "perfide Angleterre"; and Madame de Sévigné, pitying James II., had denounced his *perfide royaume*.

¹ Who also coined the word "vandalism," to express the destruction of works of art by the Jacobins.

APPENDIX D

CORRIGENDA IN CARLYLE'S "FRENCH REVOLUTION"¹

IN 1834 Carlyle, who had just settled at Chelsea in the house which he was to occupy till his death in 1881, set to work on his "History of the French Revolution." He had spent a fortnight at Paris in 1824; but though the Revolution had doubtless even then interested him he had no thought of becoming its historian, or he might have interrogated survivors, not the mendacious Barère, indeed, but Robespierre's sister, or the juror Souberbielle. Yet we can hardly imagine Carlyle collecting depositions. What then interested him was social and architectural Paris—the narrow streets, the absence of foot pavements, the crowd of hucksters on Pont Neuf, the suicide's body at the Morgue. It was not till after 1830, on the suggestion of Mill, who had paid an enthusiastic visit to the scene of the second Revolution, had made the acquaintance of Lafayette, and had written interesting articles on France in the *Examiner*, that Carlyle perceived a congenial subject, though he wavered for a time between the French Revolution and the Scottish Reformation, between Robespierre and Knox. When he had made his choice Mill sent him "almost a cartload of books," elsewhere he says "above a hundred," and though Carlyle, "after six weeks of baffling wrestle," abandoned the attempt to utilise the British Museum collection of pamphlets which later on furnished Louis Blanc his chief materials, he could consult the *Moniteur*, with its then imperfect index; the *Histoire Parlementaire*, a compilation of forty volumes then approaching completion; and the *Biographie Universelle*; not to speak of Lacretelle; the "'prentice work" of Thiers, now deservedly forgotten except, strange to say, in English translations; and minor annalists. He was thus not overburdened with materials. Had he begun his task at the present day we should have had doleful complaints of "shot rubbish," for patience was assuredly not one of his qualities, and he did not consider that every historian or biographer has to sift heaps of dross. Still less was he troubled with manuscripts. He wished, indeed, but could

¹ The references are to the edition of 1871.

not afford, to spend the winter of 1833 in Paris to prosecute researches; but even had he done so, the National (then Royal) Library had at that time no pretence of a catalogue, while the Foreign Office records and the National Archives were scarcely accessible. Even had the facilities been greater, he would perhaps have refused to sift the rubbish heaps; for on July 24, 1836, when nearing the end of his task, he wrote to his wife: "It all stands pretty fair in my head, nor do I mean to investigate much more about it, but to splash down what I know in large masses of colours, that it may look like a smoke and flame conflagration in the distance, which it is." He virtually wrote his book from the *Moniteur* and the *Histoire Parlementaire*, the latter now entirely superseded by Michelet (1847-63) and Louis Blanc (1847-55), the latter of whom adopted some of Carlyle's epithets. Nobody, however, will dispute Carlyle's words: "You have not had for a hundred years any book that came more direct and flamingly sincere from the heart of a living man."

Froude has admirably described the spirit in which Carlyle views the Revolution, the spirit of a Hebrew prophet, discerning Divine retribution on ill-doing; and Carlyle himself styles it, in a letter to Sterling, "a wild, savage book, itself a kind of French Revolution. . . . It has come hot out of my own soul; born in blackness, whirlwind, and sorrow." He thought it had "probably no chance of being liked by any existing class of British men," but it speedily achieved popularity. Mill described it in the *Westminster Review* as "one of those works of genius which are above all rules, and are a law to themselves"; while Kingsley says: "No book, always excepting Milton, so quickened and exalted my poetical view of man and his history as that great prose poem, the single epic of modern days, Thomas Carlyle's 'French Revolution.'"¹

Carlyle's conception of the Revolution would not have been modified by further evidence, and it will continue to commend itself to English minds. It was not, moreover, in his temperament to revise subsequent editions of his books. From a man in whom, as in primitive times, priest, poet, and historian were blended, we cannot expect studious watch for corrections. His books, as he told the Edinburgh students in his Rectorial address, always made him ill; consequently when once finished he thought no more of them. "In not many weeks," he wrote to Sterling when on the point of completing his task, "I can hope to wash my hands of it for ever and a day." A book with him was the eruption of a

¹ "Alton Locke," chap. vii.

volcano—once active, thenceforth at rest. He parted with his literary offspring just as birds part with their broods. He suffered the reaction attendant on mental tension, and whereas Mill, with his more phlegmatic nature, retained to the last an interest in France, his vindication of the Revolution of 1848 against Lord Normanby being translated by President Carnot's father, Carlyle for the rest of his life showed perhaps even less than the interest of an average man of culture in a country which presents the most lurid page in human history. In his *Lectures on Heroes* in 1840 he was bound, indeed, to speak of Napoleon, and had therefore to notice "the third and final act of Protestantism, the explosive, confused return of mankind to reality and fact, now that they were perishing of symbols and shams," while in November 1870, in a letter to the *Times* justifying the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, he referred to the Revolution as

embarkation on the shoreless chaos on which ill-fated France still drifts and trembles. . . . France made her great Revolution, uttered her tremendous doom's voice against a world of human shams, proclaiming as with the great last trumpet that shams should be no more. I often call that a celestial-infernal phenomenon, the most memorable in our world for a thousand years; on the whole, a transcendent revolt against the devil and his works.

But with the exception of these two utterances, one arising out of the nature of his subject, the other evoked by admiration for Germany and a sort of postscript to his "Frederick," Carlyle had nothing to say on France after the publication of his *History* in 1837. An index and chronological summary were added, indeed, but he made only two corrections in the text, and even these were not of his seeking, but enforced, as it were, upon him. In 1838 Admiral Griffiths, as an eye-witness of the sinking of the *Vengeur*, wrote to a London newspaper to contradict the highflown account adopted by Alison and Carlyle from French writers, the result being a correspondence between Griffiths and Carlyle, and a fruitless attempt to elicit an explanation from Barère, the impenitent inventor of the legend. And Admiral Nesham's son, in 1854, wrote to tell Carlyle that the name was not Needham (as he had found it misprinted, though the *Moniteur* might have set him right), and that the sword presented by the Paris municipality in 1789 to his father was not "long since rusted into nothingness," but a relic carefully preserved. These are the only corrections which Carlyle made. One would fancy that Godefroi Cavaignac and other friends must have called his attention to further inaccuracies, but, if so, he took no notice of

them. Even on a second visit to Paris in 1851 with Browning, when he met Thiers, he does not appear to have visited the spots associated with the Revolution.

Contemporary criticism, moreover, was not such as to impel him to make corrections. Mill, who had himself studied the subject, said of him in the *Westminster Review* in 1837: "A more painstaking or accurate investigator of facts and sifter of testimonies never wielded the historical pen;" and Croker, in the *Quarterly* of 1840, while mingling criticism with praise, confined himself to pointing out some slight mistakes—the number of the priests massacred at the Abbaye (twenty-one, not thirty),¹ the description of Maillard, *huissier-à-cheval*, as a "riding usher,"² instead of a process-server doing business in the country, the taking of Marat for a veterinary surgeon,³ instead of doctor to Artois's ostlers, and the supposition that Marshal Maillé (Mailly) was massacred in September 1792,⁴ whereas the "septuagenarian" (he was then really eighty-two) was guillotined at Arras in 1794. Jourgniac, whom Carlyle quotes, had mistaken *maréchal-de-camp* Maillé for Marshal Mailly. Croker also denied, on the authority of Michaud's *Biographie Universelle*, that the Prussians met with bad weather in Champagne in September and October 1792, but Carlyle, though he has exaggerated the downpour, had read Goethe's *Journal*, which speaks of heavy rain. Croker refers to the chapters on Varennes as an "admirable specimen of almost epic energy," forgetting that he himself in 1823 had written an article on that subject which might have saved Carlyle from some serious blunders, and strangely enough for a man so well acquainted with the Revolution, he describes the Vendémiaire rising as the "last struggle of Jacobinism," whereas it was the struggle of reaction. As for French critics, Philarète Chasles, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for 1840, while declaring the work untranslatable and almost unintelligible, says nothing of inaccuracies, and the French translation, which did not appear till 1865, attempted no corrections.

It is certainly to be regretted that Carlyle did not keep his work posted up to date, nor pay any attention to the deluge of publications on the Revolution which was going on during the latter part of his lifetime and still shows no abatement. But we must take Carlyle as Nature made him. He was a seer, not an antiquary, and some inaccuracies do not prevent his book from being a classic. Just because it is a classic, however, it should

¹ iii. 23.

² i. 169.

³ i. 44. See his appointment in Vatel's "Charlotte Corday."

⁴ iii. 31.

now be edited. Nobody, indeed, would propose excisions, though three chapters are a positive tissue of mistakes, still less additions, albeit numerous episodes have now come to light which Carlyle would assuredly have inserted had they been known sixty years ago; but more or less serious errors should be corrected in foot-notes. Pending this standard edition, let me point out the principal *corrigenda*.

Carlyle cannot be fairly blamed for repeating legends or misconceptions which at the time were almost universally credited. Thus the pillage of Réveillon's paper-mill was long regarded as a piece of revenge for oppression; but it was really due to some heedless words uttered by him at the election meeting in St. Marguerite's church. Green cockades were adopted by the mob in the Palais Royal gardens on the 12th July 1789, not because green was a "sign of hope," which it might have been in early spring yet not in the middle of summer, but because it was the colour of Necker's liveries.¹ Mirabeau's retort to De Brézé was not, "Tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people, and that nothing but the force of bayonets shall send us hence,"² but "We have met by the will of the nation, and we shall leave only by force." The substance is the same, but the form is less theatrical. The correct version was given by De Brézé's son in the Chamber of Peers, 9th March 1833, and was confirmed by Montlosier, who had heard Mirabeau's exclamation. Nor was Mirabeau's interview with Marie Antoinette a nocturnal one,³ as alleged by that inaccurate gossip, Madame de Campan. He spent the night of July 2, 1790, at Auteuil, at the house of his niece, Madame d'Aragon, and next morning his nephew, Du Saillant, disguised as a coachman, drove him in a closed carriage to St. Cloud, where he alighted at the foot of the Queen's staircase, and was ushered into her apartments, the King also being present. He may, however, as Madame de Campan relates, have said at parting: "Madame, the monarchy is saved." What is certain is, that he committed a breach of etiquette in not immediately writing a courtly letter of thanks for his reception, and that he had to be reminded of the omission by La Marck,⁴ who told him that the Queen expected an effusive letter. The famous reply of Liancourt to Louis XVI. has also been inaccurately related. He did not wake up the King on the night of July 14 to describe the capture of the Bastille as not a revolt, but a revolution.⁵ It was two days before, on apprising the

¹ i. 153.² i. 144.³ ii. 104.⁴ *Correspondance de Mirabeau et La Marck*, i. 189; ii. 80.⁵ i. 174.

King of the ferment in Paris, that, to Louis's remark, "Why, it is a revolt, then," he answered, "No, sire; it is a revolution." The fall of the Bastille was known at Versailles not at night but in the afternoon. Carlyle has adopted Jacobin exaggerations as to the famous Versailles banquet which formed the pretext for the march of the Paris mob.¹ The alleged orgie was the dinner usually given by their comrades to a newly arrived troop, and the Flanders regiment had been sent for on account of two unsuccessful attempts by a Paris mob (on August 13 and September 17) to march on Versailles. Desmoulins asserted that the dinner cost 26 francs a head; it really cost $3\frac{1}{4}$ francs. There was no trampling on the tricolour, for the garrison had not yet relinquished the white cockade.² Nor did the women spontaneously initiate the march to Versailles. They were adroitly placed at the head of the procession in order that the troops might not fire, and perhaps also in order that they might exercise their seductions.

Passing on to the "Feast of Pikes," the celebrated Baron Trenck, it should be known, was not then in Paris,³ though the waxwork Madame Tussaud, or whoever wrote her book, "remembered" dancing with him that night, for he was then in Hungary, and had he foreseen the guillotine he would have remained there. Morande, the scurrilous pamphleteer, is mentioned by Carlyle as also a victim of that guillotine.⁴ He richly deserved it, but he contrived to escape notice in the provinces, became one of Napoleon's justices of the peace, and lived till 1806. Carlyle did not implicitly accept the story of Mademoiselle Sombreuil's draught of blood, but cautiously said, "If universal rumour can be credited."⁵ The story, however, did not rest on universal rumour, for it was first published, though not perhaps invented, by Legouvé in 1800. He was less wary as to the Girondins' last supper,⁶ an invention of Nodier, embellished later on by Lamartine. Another thrilling episode, the attempted rescue of the last batch of victims,⁷ has been disproved by the publication of the report of the officers commanding the escort. The number of prisoners in Paris at the height of the Terror was not 12,000 but 8000.⁸ Though rightly thinking little of Thiers' first and immature work, Carlyle adopted his grotesque blunder as to a contemplated monster guillotine, despatching 150 persons at one blow.⁹ There was an intention of trying the Luxembourg prisoners in one batch, and Judge Dumas began constructing an enormous

¹ i. 211; Vitu, *Repas des Gardes-du-Corps*. ² i. 212.

⁴ iii. 13.

⁵ iii. 26.

⁶ iii. 169.

³ ii. 18.

⁷ iii. 169.

⁸ iii. 229.

⁹ iii. 229.

scaffolding, a dock in which they were to be ranged in tiers; but, on Fouquier-Tinville's representations as to the bad effect of such a spectacle on the public mind, the plan was abandoned. Thiers mistook *échafaud*, in the sense of scaffolding, for *échafaud*, scaffold. The Goddess of Reason or Liberty was not Mademoiselle Candelle,¹ for she had quitted the Opera in 1785 and was at the Variétés theatre. In the story of the flogging of the women at the dispersion of the Jacobin club,² Carlyle has followed Beaulieu, who, however, was not an eye-witness. Both sides told their story to the Convention, and neither of them mentioned such an indignity. Lastly, Napoleon's account of his half-hour's deliberation before accepting the invitation to put down the Vendémiaire rising³ is contrary to all testimony and probability. Napoleon was simply one of Barras's aides-de-camp, and Barras had four generals under him, all superior in rank to Napoleon. He had been daily importuning Barras for an appointment, but was strangely undiscoverable at the critical moment, being, indeed, in treaty with the insurgents. Not till he had found their offers or prospects uninviting did he repair to Barras, who had been vainly inquiring for him, and all the posts but that of aide-de-camp had then been filled up.⁴

I pass on to cases in which Carlyle's mistakes are less excusable. At the opening of the States-General he makes the procession go from St. Louis church to Notre Dame,⁵ whereas it went from Notre Dame to St. Louis. There La Fare, Bishop of Nancy, after drawing an exaggerated picture of the oppression of the peasantry, turning to the monarch, exclaimed, "And all this is done in the name of the best of kings," whereat the expected plaudits resounded. The nobles did not at that ceremony wear "bright-dyed cloaks of velvet,"⁶ but black ones, to match their black coats, vests, and breeches. The cardinals alone, and there could have been only three, wore red copes, the other prelates having rochets and purple mantles. Fouquier-Tinville did not notify sentence of death to Lamourette⁷ or any other prisoner, for he was not judge, but public prosecutor. Madame de Buffon, Égalité's mistress, was not the "light wife of a great naturalist too old for her,"⁸ nor even the widow, but the daughter-in-law. The naturalist, a widower since 1769, had died in 1788. It was Buffon's son who, in 1784, married Mademoiselle Bouvier de Cépo, in ignorance that both she and her mother were too intimate with Égalité, and that they had

¹ iii. 193.² iii. 255.³ iii. 270.⁴ *Mémoires de Barras*.⁵ i. 117.⁶ i. 117. *Journal du Baron de Gauville*, 1864.⁷ iii. 184.⁸ i. 81.

accompanied him to England. Buffon divorced her in 1793, and on the 3rd October of that year married Georgette Daubenton, but in a few months was guillotined. His first wife was inhuman as well as light, if it is true that she might, by her influence with the Jacobins, have saved her ex-husband.¹ Manifestly by a mere slip of the pen, which he should have corrected in the second edition, Carlyle likewise confuses Carnot with his son, styling him Hippolyte in lieu of Lazare.² The duel between Lameth and Castries did not take place in the Bois de Boulogne,³ but on the Champ de Mars. Because Barnave and Cazalès fought in the Bois, Carlyle apparently took for granted that all duels came off there. He also mistakes the origin of the term "sansculotte."⁴ To be "destitute of breeches" was not a "mournful destitution," but was simply wearing the unfashionable trousers instead of the fashionable garment.

With Madame Roland, Carlyle seems to have had a fatality of inaccuracy. Her platonic lover was not, as he says, Barbaroux,⁵ but Buzot. Fouquier's revolting questions to her were not put at the trial,⁶ for the interrogatory was there conducted by the judge, but at the preliminary examination, answering to our committal for trial. On her way to execution she did not, according to the best authorities, exclaim on passing the plaster statue of Liberty erected in readiness for the festival of the 10th August, "O liberty, what things are done in thy name!"⁷ but "O liberty, how hast thou been duped!" The reference was to the slaughter of her Girondin friends and to Jacobin tyranny. At the foot of the scaffold she did not insist on preceding the trembling Lamarche,⁸ in order to show him how to die, but on his preceding her, that he might not be still further unnerved by witnessing her death. That she asked for pen and paper to record her thoughts⁹ is, moreover, as Dauban remarks, "contrary to all probability." The spectacle of her being unfettered, and having writing materials brought her that she might write on her knees in the cart or on the steps of the scaffold, the executioner meanwhile waiting, would have been introducing a burlesque into a tragedy. Equally improbable, by the way, is Lavoisier's alleged request for a respite to finish some chemical experiments.¹⁰ He had been busy in prison, along with his colleagues, in drawing up the accounts of the tax-farming, and on the eve of his trial had written to a friend an admirably calm farewell letter. But to return

¹ She had a son by Égalité, who was killed when serving in the English army in Spain, and in 1798 she married a Strasburg banker. Her successor, Georgette, survived till 1852.

² ii. 174.

³ ii. 99.

⁴ ii. 104.

⁵ ii. 184.

⁶ iii. 179.

⁷ iii. 179.

⁸ iii. 179.

⁹ iii. 179.

¹⁰ iii. 224.

to Madame Roland. She was condemned on the afternoon of November 8, 1793. News of the condemnation reached her husband on the 10th, on the evening of which day he quitted his retreat and stabbed himself. He had not positively heard of her death,¹ and in the letter found on him he says: "I have quitted my retreat at the moment of learning that my wife was about to be butchered, and I will not any longer remain on an earth covered with crimes."

Carlyle probably died without any consciousness of his gravest mistakes, his account of the King's flight to Varennes. It was not till March 1886 that Mr. Oscar Browning, who in the previous autumn had been over the ground, showed, in a paper read before the Royal Historical Society, that that account, while "a very vivid picture of the affair as it occurred, in its broad outlines consistent with the truth," was "in almost every detail inexact," "almost every statement false or exaggerated." Carlyle's cardinal blunder was that he took the distance from Paris to Varennes to be only 67 miles,² whereas it is 150. I should imagine that he confused Varennes-en-Argonne with Varennes-Jaulgonne, a village not lying far off the route, now 66 miles by rail. From this blunder flowed a whole catalogue of errors, for which I must refer the reader to the Historical Society's Transactions. Mr. Browning's paper is evidently not so well known as it should be, inasmuch as the Marquis of Ripon, at the London meeting in 1895 for the purchase of the Chelsea house, cited the flight to Varennes as an example of Carlyle's historical gifts. Suffice it to say that the pace of the royal carriage in Carlyle's narrative became three miles an hour instead of six and a half,³ and that the carriage itself became a huge lumbering vehicle, whereas it was a well-constructed post-chaise, going at an ordinary pace, on an occasion, however, when the pace should have been unusual, unless, indeed, there was fear of thus exciting suspicion. Mr. Browning is thorough, almost merciless, in his exposure of errors. He could not indeed be expected to pass over Carlyle's description of Drouet as in his nightgown,⁴ instead of dressing-gown, at first sight as ludicrous a mistake as that with which Carlyle twitted William Taylor, who in *Faust* made the fainting Margaret ask her neighbour at church for her dram-bottle in lieu of her smelling-bottle. Nightgown, however, from Shakespeare's time to Walter Scott's, meant dressing-gown,⁵ and Carlyle was excusable in not knowing the modern term. But Mr. Browning might have been

¹ iii. 180.² ii. 143.³ ii. 143.⁴ ii. 146.⁵ See letters in *Spectator*, May-June 1900.

a little less severe on the town of Varennes being styled a paltry little village; on Drouet being described as still in the prime of life,¹ when he was only twenty-eight; on *couchée* for *coucher*; on Pont-de-Sommevelle for Pont-Sommevesle—both forms seem to have been used; and on the presence of sunshine. This last correction is rather strained. Because the King's brother had a cloudy day for his journey to Mons, it does not necessarily follow that the sky was overcast from Paris to Varennes. It is but fair, moreover, to say that to ascertain the truth, amid the conflicting depositions of witnesses eager to excuse themselves, is not easy, and that Mr. Browning must himself be corrected in some details by a later book on the subject, M. Victor Fournel's *Événement de Varennes*, 1890. Mr. Browning might, however, if he had glanced further on, have detected another mistake. Copying a misprint, Carlyle describes Drouet as imprisoned at Spitzberg,² "far into the interior of Cimmeria," whereas he was cast into the well-known fortress of Spielberg.

Inexcusable as the miscalculation of distance is, coupled with errors not all necessarily attendant on it, it would be ungracious to part from Carlyle without bearing testimony to his impartiality, and this is best done by quoting two Frenchmen of opposite parties, who both accuse him of bias. The royalist M. Mazel, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (October 1886), describes Carlyle as the earliest of the Dantonist historians, and as in general favourable to the Revolution, admitting its inevitableness, the Terror included, and admiring the liberalism of the Girondins. M. Mazel not inaptly compares him to Hamlet, with his alternate extravagances and lucid glimpses, his sobs and fits of laughter, lofty lyricism and rank buffoonery. Now hear an opposite view. A Frenchman, writing in 1864, maintains that Carlyle, while well fitted to become the historian of Puritanism and Cromwell, could not appreciate the French Revolution.

He has seen only the evil in the French Revolution. He understands our way of acting no better than our way of thinking. He seeks the Puritan sentiment, and as he does not find it he condemns us. The idea of duty, the religious spirit, self-control, the authority of the austere conscience, can alone, according to him, reform a corrupt society, and nothing of this is found in French society. . . . The morality in vogue was the promise of universal happiness; incredulity, empty talk, sensuality—behold the sources of this reform. Instincts were let loose and barriers thrown down; corrupted authority was replaced by unbridled anarchy.

¹ ii. 146.

² iii. 203.

"But," he adds,

put the good alongside the bad, and mark the virtues alongside the vices. These sceptics believed in proved truth, and would take her alone for mistress. These logicians founded society solely on justice. These epicureans embraced all mankind in their sympathies. These fanatics, these artisans, these starving and ragged peasants, fought on the frontier for humanitarian interests and abstract principles. Generosity and enthusiasm abounded here as with you English; recognise them under a form not your own. They were devoted to abstract truth, as your Puritans were to divine truth. They followed philosophy, as your Puritans followed religion. Their object was the salvation of the world, while your Puritans' object was individual salvation. They fought against evil in society, as your Puritans fought against it in the soul. They were as generous as your Puritans were virtuous. They had, like them, a heroism, but sympathetic, social, eager for propaganda, which has reformed Europe, whereas yours served yourselves only.

Will it be credited that this eloquent vindication of the Revolution was written by Taine—Taine who had not then studied it, but was destined to depict it in far darker colours than Carlyle, whom he mistakenly charges with one-sidedness? It is surprising that none of his ardent critics should have cited the Taine of 1864 against the Taine of 1884.

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